Vitaly Shevoroshkin (ed.)

Explorations in Language Macrofamilies



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Materials from the first International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory Ann Arbor, 8-12 November, 1988

edited

by

Vitaly Shevoroshkin



BPX 23

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BOCHUM PUBLICATIONS IN EVOLUTIONARY CULTURAL SEMIOTICS

EDITORIAL

BPX is a series of monographs or collections of papers (also resulting from pertinent colloquia) that are published at irregular intervals. The series is designed to bring into focus the interaction of nature and culture. Particular emphasis will be given to the overall ideas of **integration** and **focus**. Communicative processes will be considered to be integrated parts of cosmogenesis, biogenesis, psychogenesis etc. The fundamental processes underlying all levels of evolution are assumed to be identical. Not unlike most other sciences, evolutionary semiotics is considered to share in an ultimately unitary and indivisible reality. Its specificity is derived solely from its focus on a particular level of evolution: although seemingly obvious, the exact nature of this inevitable bias (human or proto-human predicament) continues to deserve concentrated attention. The prototypical structure for this is considered to be culture: a phenomenon whose true integrative potentialities have not yet been fully discovered or explored. For a semiotics thus conceived, structure and process are not different phases of reality and/or sciences but rather mere faces of a unitary field. In the view of this series, then, any fruitful attempt at semiotic analysis will be based on premises of macro-integration - or evolution - and of micro-integration - or culture.

While it is the ambitious goal of this series to encourage interdisciplinary work on the nature of culture as outlined above, BPX will have to be content - especially in its initial stages - with more modest attempts at elucidating semiogenesis. In addition, most contributions will presumably be relatively specific, covering all possible areas of culture or proto-culture, with the desired unity or homogeneity regarding aim and scope - largely confined to the background.

Bochum, December 1984

W. A. K.

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This volume could not have been compiled without them.



CONTENTS

List of Participants	2
V. Shevoroshkin Introductory Remarks	4
NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES	
V. Dybo V. M. Illich-Svitych and the Development of Uralic and Dravidian Linguistics	20
I. Hegedus The Applicability of Exact Methods in Nostratic Research	30
INTERPHYLETIC COMPARISONS	
S. Starostin Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian	42
S. Nikolaev and O. Mudrak Gilyak and Chukchi-Kamchatkan as Almosan- Keresiouan Languages: Lexical Evidence	67
RECONSTRUCTIONS	
O. Mudrak Kamchukchee Roots	90
V. Illich-Svitych The Relationship of the Nostratic Family Languages: A Probabilistic Evaluation of the Similarities in Question	111
V. Dybo Comparative-Phonetic Tables	114
V. Illich-Svitych Three Entries from the Nostratic Dictionary	122
J. Parkinson (Translation and Arrangement) A Nostratic Word List: Reconstructions by V. Illich-Svitych	128

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Vitaly Shevoroshkin

I am writing this after having attended the second (1989) Moscow Conference on Linguistic Reconstruction and Prehistory of the East. Both there and at the first conference (1984) scholars discussed not only linguistic problems of deep and not-so-deep reconstructions and comparisons of languages but also the possible location of homelands of the peoples who spoke the reconstructed languages, chronology, and so on. In the area of historical linguistics, remarkable progress was achieved during the five-year period between the Moscow conferences: whereas in 1984 reconstructions of protolanguages — ancestors of linguistic phyla (Nostratic, Sino-Caucasian) were topics of discussion, in 1989 several SYSTEMATIC COMPARISONS BETWEEN THESE PROTO-LANGUAGES were considered: namely comparisons between Nostratic, Sino-Caucasion, Austric, and Amerind — the latter represented by a few archaic daughter languages.

Actually, the first such systematic comparison, that of Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian, had already been presented at our Ann Arbor Symposium on Language and Prehistory (Nov. 1988), in Starostin's paper 'Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian'. Since this paper is exceedingly important for the progress of deep reconstruction, we have included the full — not preliminary — report in the present volume. This report was also repeated, with some minor changes and corrections, at the Moscow 1989 conference; we included these alterations (along with still more corrections) in the present edition.

In spite of of recent (and not-so-recent) advances in the Soviet Union in the field of historical linguistics, the majority of Western scholars are antagonistic towards any kind of deep comparisons and reconstruction. This largely stems from ignorance, as they know only of the long-range comparisons and reconstructions made in the U.S. in the 50's and 60's — all of which soundly failed. These scholars are often completely unaware of Illich-Svitych's successful reconstruction of the Nostratic proto-language — made a quarter century ago — let alone reconstructions of daughter languages of Sino-Caucasian

(North Caucasian, Yeniseian, Sino-Tibetan, etc.) made or re-made recently by Soviet scholars.

This attitude is very damaging to the spread of knowledge among the new generation of talented youth, since linguists of the orthodox 'establishment' serve on the commissions at foundations and universities, effectively blocking any attempt to obtain a substantial grant for research or for translation of Russian works in deep reconstruction of languages. All this despite the fact that Amerindian historical linguistics lacks a workable long-range methodology, and scores of American Indian proto-languages still lack reconstructions.

Of course, not all Western linguists are that ignorant. I do not want to quote here the high evaluations of Nostratic reconstructions by Western experts (B. Collinder, N. Poppe, K. Menges, P. Garde, R. Anttila, H. Birnbaum et al.): they were published long ago. But I would like to mention here the Sinologist William Baxter III from the University of Michigan. He wrote a preface to his translation of Starostin's comparison of Sino-Caucasian daughter-languages (North Caucasian, Yeniseian, and Sino-Tibetan) which appeared in the materials of the Moscow 1984 conference. In this preface he gave Starostin's work a high mark — as the first work of its kind which is methodologically sound, being based on phonetic, morphological, and semantic correspondences between the daughter languages.

Starostin's comparison of Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian contains over 230 sets; it is also based on phonetic correspondences between Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian reconstructed roots. Starostin proposes some slight changes in the interpretation of Nostratic phonetics that may or may not be valid (to me it seems premature to change Nostr. q' and q to k' and x [= x]).

At the 1989 conference in Moscow, I. Peiros systematically compared these Nostratic-Sino-Caucasian sets with Austric (or to be exact, with reconstructed Austronesian and Mon-Khmer roots), and

the results are encouraging; they support the thesis that all macrofamilies are genetically related.

The first book of proceedings from the Ann Arbor conference² contains M. Ruhlen's comparison of Nostratic and Amerind. Unfortunately, Amerind is not yet reconstructed; roots cited by Ruhlen are not based on exact sound correspondences since there are only a few valid reconstructions of Amerind's daughter languages. Still, the results are interesting; Ruhlen's sets represent the most stable lexical and grammatical elements of both Nostratic and Amerind.

L. Campbell has also (unwittingly) discovered the correspondences, and has published them in a strongly negative review of J. Greenberg's treatise on American Indian language classification, Language in the Americas. 3 Campbell compares Greenberg's Amerind reconstructions (also used in Ruhlen's work) to Finnish - a Nostratic language - and finds many striking correspondences. Ironically, he chose Finnish not as a representative of Nostratic, but as an arbitrary 'unrelated' language, in order to play down the resemblances that form the basis for Greenberg's Amerind hypothesis: 'Such resemblances should fare better than equations with some unrelated language selected at random. I have compared G[reenberg]'s grammatical evidence with Finnish data and have found that Finnish grammatical forms fit most of G's forms; this makes it difficult to accept the G grammatical data as convincing evidence.' (602) We note just a few of the examples he gives (numbers in the leftmost column are those of Greenberg's Amerind sets)4:

¹See also my 'Methods in Interphyletic Comparisons', *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* (1989): 1-29.

²V. Shevoroshkin, ed., Reconstructing Languages and Cultures: Abstracts and Materials from the First International Interdisciplinary Symposium on Language and Prehistory, Ann Arbor, 8-12 November, 1988, Bochum Publications in Evolutionary Cultural Semiotics 20 (Bochum: Studienverlag Dr. Norbert Brockmeyer, 1989). Henceforth, RLC.

³Language 64 (1988): 591-615.

⁴Campbell also finds similarities between full-meaning words, but unlike the grammatical correspondences he finds, this list is mostly spurious. (607-08)

	AMERIND	FINNISH
3	m '1 p' (Chibchan-Paezan; Penutian — mainly pl.)	m- 'we', minä (mɨnä) 'I'
11	s '2p'	-si 'your (sg.)', sä 'you (sg.)'
13	t 'Dem., 3p pron.'	tä- this
14	m "	tä-mä 'this', nä-mä 'these'
15	n "	ne 'they, these', nä- 'these'
19	k '1p dual'	Finno-Ugric *-k 'dual', Finn. me-k 'we', cf. kaKte- 'two'
23	ni 'this', nī 'hither', eni 'this' [cf. 15 -V.S.]	nä- 'these (here)', ne 'there'

Campbell's argument, of course, makes sense only as long as, as he asserts, Finnish 'is not seriously taken by anyone of reason to be closely related to any American Indian language.' (606) 'Reasonable' as it is, the assumption that the languages cannot be related must be rejected: It would defy the laws of probability for two dozen such identities to be unmotivated. And since grammatical elements are almost never borrowed, the obvious conclusion is that we are dealing with a genetic relationship, one between Amerind and Nostratic; as it happens, the Finnish forms given are identical with not only Uralic (a Nostratic daughter-language), but also Nostratic itself⁵. But for Campbell, with no knowledge of Collinder's Uralic reconstructions or Illich-Svitych's Nostratic reconstructions, such a relationship is inconceiveable. With a correct understanding of macrofamilies and the principle of external comparison, however, Finnish may indeed be 'seriously taken' to be related to MANY American Indian languages, and its exact correspondence with the reconstructed grammatical forms of Amerind only SUPPORTS the Amerind hypothesis!

As for comparisons of full-meaning roots of Amerind with those of Nostratic (or Sino-Caucasian, or Austric, for that matter), the situation is more complex: any language contains much more full-

⁵See M. Ruhlen, 'Nostratic-Amerind Cognates' in *RLC*, 78-83; for Nostratic grammatical elements (taken from Illich-Svitych's *Dictionary*), see this vol., 131-61, nos. 45, 59, 65, 111, 121, 122, 128, 129, 134, 142, 149, 150-53, etc.

meaning words than grammatical roots; this increases the possibility of a chance resemblance. I propose, therefore, to compare, first of all, archaic Amerind languages such as Salishan or Penutian; they have conserved complex phonetic systems, which include uvular and laryngeal fricatives, lateral obstruents, as well as oppositions of the type (velar: uvular), (plain: glottalized), etc. What is more, the roots of modern Salishan languages resemble those of Proto-Salish closely or exactly. Here are a few tables comparing Salish languages and Nostratic⁶, arranged by the Salish roots in this order of phonemes: q'q'w q qw k' (incl. č' < *k') k'w k (incl. č < *k) kw t' t p'p \lambda \lamb

	SECHELT ⁷	NOSTRATIC
1	q'wəl-ána 'ear' (Salish	**q'/iw/l/ 'to hear' [M 366-1]
	*q²wa]-)	(Dolgopolsky: q'/ew/1/)
2	qấp 'touch with hands'	**qap^ 'seize' [M 371-2]
3	Root k'at' 'small' in	**k'Ut'^ 'smali' [#205]
	s-k'ət'−iqw−úya 'little	
-	finger'	
4	s-č'ánu ' dog ' (č' < *k')	**k'üjnA 'wolf, dog' [#238 K'-
	(cf. Ruhlen #35)8	indicates (k' or q'), but cf.
		Kartv. *-k'na 'dog']
5	k'win 'how many?'	**K'o 'who?' [#223]. **K'aj ~
	(cf. Ruhlen #7)	**K'a(w), according to Starostin's
		manuscript on Altaic. (Turkic
		*ki/e-m, Mongol *ke-n 'who',
		Tungus *xōni 'how?')
6	t'ip- 'to roast' (Cf. Penut.:	**t'äp^ 'warmth, heat' (after

⁶Cited mostly after J. Parkinson's list (this volume, 131-61): "#" refers to the entry number in Illich-Svitych's dictionary; "M" to his paper in 'Etimolgiia 1965.

⁷Forms are cited mostly after J. Timmers, A Classified English-Sechelt Word-List (Lisse: Peter de Ridder Press, 1977).

⁸Cited after RLC, 78-83.

	Wintu t'ipe: 'burn	Starostin #186; cf. M 338-2)
	emitting sparks')	
7	Moses túxw-uxw 'die,	**d∧w∧ 'be sick, die' [#76]; the
	dead' (cf. Salish *tixw-	stem may be more complex: IE
	'kill')	*dweiH-~AA *dwj / *dw?
8	-p'i≯- 'flat, broad'	**p'ilHA- 'broad and flat' [after
		Dolgopolsky; cf. M 372-16]
9	pák ^w -pak ^w 'liver'	Nostr.: Alt. *pāk'\' 'liver' (Staro-
	(root pák ^w)	stin); (Alt. *k' < **k' / **q')
10	λ'u [‡] 'child'	**6'["][?^][^ 'little, small'
		(Dolg.); ĉ' = λ'
11	∔i×- 'skinny' etc.	**L^[x]^ 'be ill' (as in Kartv.
		*1ex-)[cf. #272]
12	s-liqw 'flesh, meat'	**L∧gw∧ 'meat' (L = 1, 1, or +) as
		in Kartv. *layw-, Svan. leyw-
		'meat'; Also in Afro-Asiatic: West
		Chadic *lah₩∧
13	łáq³™ 'bow'	**łonk'/q'a 'to bend' (*-n- is
		missing in Salish also in #18, #20)
14	łup'−íws− 'to skin	**Lop'^ 'peel, peeled bark'
	(animals)'; λύρ'-υω 'peel	[cf. #268 and Starostin #113];
	off' (= 'heal, as wound')	L- = λ' ? (W. Chad. ê'∧p∧
		'bark, rind, peel')
15	łít 'sprinkle' (< Salishan	**L/ä/j/ 'water, pour/flow' (j=y)
	**i, after Kuipers);	[#267] (*L/ä/jX∧, after Dolg.);
	cf. Penutian: Wintu Ai:-d-,	L = 1 or }
	łe:q− id.	
16	law 'rib'	**1uw∧ 'bone' as in Uralic
		*luwe id.
17	may 'worn out'	*maHj∧ 'lose strength, weaken,
		perish' [#356]
	cíqit 'stab, dig'; root	**Čin[g] \ 'stick into' [cf. M 335];
18	ciqic stab, aig, root	

19	háy- 'chase, pursue', háy?-	**Haja 'chase, pursue' ('hunt' in
	'hunt'	Alt. *aja-) [#103]; H- may be h-
20	háq-t 'breathe',	**?anqA 'breathe' [#125] (note ?-,
	haq ^w −n−áx ^w ' to smell '	not ?-, in Egyptian Տոհ)

	Moses Columbian9	Nostratic
21	k'it' 'break (string)', Se- chelt ĕ'at 'cut'	**k'o/t'/^ 'cut' [M 360]; note that Kartv. *k'wet- shows *-t-, not *-t'
22	kam-'carry, take' (root *kám? ?)	**kamu 'seize' [#157]
23	(k)ネイ?× 'slide, slip'	**gi[ʔ]ḥu 'smooth' [#84]
24	k ^w a? 'and'	Afro-Asiatic *kw conjoining particle, Kartv. *kwe intensifying particle, etc. [see #201]
25	tq'áὦ-s 'two'	Kartv. *t'q'u-b 'twins' (but **tu?∧ 'two' in Nostr. which is compared by Starostin [#180] with Sino-Cauc. *t'q'wE).
26	p'í?q 'ripe' (cf. Kalispel p'ly?áq 'ripe')	**p'uHj^ 'to boil' (as in IE *speHi' to ripen', Uralic *püj^- 'boil, ripen') [M 343-15]
27	p'ik' 'bright, shiny, sparkle'; identical with 44	Afro-Asiatic : Berber *PK 'sun, light' (Nostr. **p'äk'[U] 'hot')
28	ptíxů-əm 'spit' (Sechelt páxůt, Cœr d'Alène təpəxů; cf. Penuti: Maidu t'ûp' id.	IE *ptieu- 'spit' (descriptive); see s.v. Nostr. **t'up∧ 'spit' [M 354-12]
29	λ'a?-λ'a?án' 'look for'	**6^?η^ 'recognize' (Dolg.); 6 = λ
30	∤áq-əl× 'sit' (sing.); cf.	**L^ga as in Kartv. *1(a)g-, IE

 $^{^9\}mathrm{Cited}$ after D. Kinkade, Dictionary of the Moses-Columbia Language (Nespelem: Colville Confederated Tribes, 1981).

	łáq™ 'put away' ?	*legh- 'put, lie (down)' [#328]
31	łát' 'wet'	**L/a/t'^ 'wet, moist' [#265]
32	łápx™ 'burn, scorch'	AA *ŝ^b, *ŝhb 'heat' and / or
		IE *lap- (Anat. and Latw. lap-)
		'smolder'
33	lám-k ^w 'break off'	**Íam∧ 'fragile', as in IE
	(cf. Squamish 1m-č'-	*lem- 'break; weak', Uralic
	'chip off'; Penutian:Wintu	*íam/ 'crash; weak'.
	łe/im- 'demolish')	[M 371-11; cf. #254]

	SQUAMISH 10	NOSTRATIC
34	q'a/aj 'be high up' (-1 in	**q'aLi or **k'aLi 'arise, top'
	Cowichan); root *q'al	[#210]
35	q'ap' 'seize'	*q'äp'ä or **k'äp'ä 'paw' [#222]
36	q'wui 'die, be paralyzed',	**q'o(H)1\times 'kill, die', as in Kartv.
	q'wu'i ¬nəxwʻbe killedʻ; root	*q'wil- 'kill', Drav. *kol- 'kill,
	*q'wut? or *q'wul?	Ural. *kōle 'die' [M 370-5]
37	qwatq-an? 'pass, go by'	(?) *q/o/d^ 'move' [M 338-12]
38	k'wač 'look, catch sight of'	**Koki 'to track, watch' as in Ural.
	(Shuswap wik-m 'see',	*koke 'search, find', Alt.: Turkic
	with w- from *k'w)	*Kog∧- 'track, chase' [#183]
39	k'wal?-aw? 'skin'	**koly/?^, after Dolgopolsky;
i		Starostin [# 54] compares Sino-
		Caucas. *q'wAlH∧ 'bark, skin'
40	tiq ^w 'muddy'	**diq^ or **tiq^ 'soil' (=Kartv.)
		[cf. # 69]
41	takw 'tight' (about clothes,	**ta/k'/\/ 'suitable' [M 335-7];
	etc.)	*k' may be from **kw (cf. #9)
42	n-tal-čis 'stone hammer'	**te/1// 'split' [M 360-5]
	(cf. Penut.: Wintu -tha∤-	

¹⁰ Cited after A. Kuipers, The Squamish Language, (The Hague: Mouton, 1967).

43		'break')	
44	43	təh-m 'leak' (cf. N. Wa-	**t^[ḥ]^ 'pour, flow' [M 347-9]
*p°ik')		kash.: Kwakiutl th-m'drip')	
3	44	p'ač' 'hot' (root *p'ak' /	**p'äk'U 'hot' [cf. M 337-16]
λ'i? 'dear', etc. (root **\$/o/hi, **\$/o/hj^ 'wish' as in Sem. *\$hy/w (Dolg.); ê=[λ], ê=[λ] 46 λič' 'be cut' **\$\frac{1}{2} \text{kla-math } λoy? 'be sweet') 47 λik'w 'get hooked (up)' **λ'\ulletk'^\ 'pierce, shove into' [#261] 48 λaq'w 'come off (bark)' IE *leuk- (infixed *leu-n-k-, as in Lith. lùnkas, Slavic *lyko 'peeled bark' etc.); IE *l < Nostr. ***\ulletta math \text{kla-math} 'dew', \ullet\ullet \text{hm}?x\ullet **LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in Kartv. *lām- or *lam- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. *\ullet \ullet \u		*p'ik')	
λ'ay?) (cf. Penut.: Klamath łoy? 'be sweet') Sem. **ŝhy/w (Dolg.); ĉ=[λ], ŝ=[†] 46 łič' 'be cut' **ŝåk'a 'split, cut asunder' (Dolg.) 47 łſk'w 'get hooked (up)' **łūk'∧ 'pierce, shove into' [#261] 48 łaq'w 'come off (bark)' IE *leuk- (infixed *leu-n-k-, as in Lith. lùnkas, Slavic *lyko 'peeled bark' etc.); IE *l < Nostr. **l, **l or **ſ; *k <q' or **k'. 49 s-łámʔłm 'dew', łám?xw **LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in Kartv. *lām- or *lam- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **λωHemΛ 'wet, liquid' **Ho-mśa (< **?o-mΛCa ?) **meet' [cf. *114]; see next 50 s-mic 'meet' (see Ruhlen **Ho-mśa (< **?o-mΛCa ?) **meet' [cf. *114]; see next 51 s-cá-ci?n, cay 'blood', ci?w 'bleed', ci/aqw 'red, bleed' (Moses cax 'red'; Shuswap cayw 'blood'. Cf. Starostin (#169); he compares Alt. *sag∧ 'blood, health'. Note prefix **?∧- in	45	λ'i?-s 'like, love, want'	**ĉ/o/hi, **ĉ/o/hj∧ or
math \$\frac{1}{2}0 \text{ be cut'} \text{**\$\frac{1}{2}} \text{**}\text{be cut'} \text{***\$\frac{1}{2}} \text{**}*		λ'i? 'dear', etc. (root	**ŝ/o/hi, **ŝ/o/hj/ 'wish' as in
##\$#" be cut"		*A'ay?) (cf. Penut.: Kla-	Sem. * \hat{s} hy/w (Dolg.); $\hat{c} = [\lambda]$, $\hat{s} = [\hat{v}]$
47 ½ (k² 'w 'get hooked (up)' ** ½ ik² \ 'pierce, shove into' [#261] 48 ½ aq² 'w 'come off (bark)' IE *leuk- (infixed *leu-n-k-, as in Lith. lùnkas, Slavic *lyko 'peeled bark' etc.); IE *l < Nostr.			
1	46	≯ič' 'be cut'	**ŝäk'a 'split, cut asunder' (Dolg.)
in Lith. lùnkas, Slavic *lyko 'peeled bark' etc.); IE *l < Nostr. **l, ***l or **í; *k <***q' or **k'. 49 s-lám?lm 'dew', lám?xm	47		**łük'^ 'pierce, shove into' [#261]
'peeled bark' etc.); IE *1 < Nostr. **1, ***\frac{1}{2} or ***\frac{1}{2}; *k < ***q' or ***k'. 49	48	≯∍q'w 'come off (bark)'	IE *leuk- (infixed *leu-n-k-, as
1, *1 or ***1; *k < ***q' or **k'. 49 s-14m?1m 'dew', 14m?x" 'to rain' **LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in Kartv. *1ām- or *1am- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **\text{*\text{WHem}}\text{ 'wet, liquid'} 50 s-mic 'meet' (see Ruhlen #21) **Ho-m\$\text{\$a} (< **?o-m\text{\$Ca} ?) 'meet' [cf. *114]; see next 51 s-c\text{\$a\$-ci?n, cay 'blood',} ci?w 'bleed', ci/aqw (reduplication, according to Illich- 'red, bleed' (Moses cax 'oblood', Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Kla- math čeqle 'blood', Chi- ***J, ***1 or ***1; *k < ***q' or ***k'. ***LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in Kartv. * ām- or * am- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **\text{*\text{\$w}} Hem\text{\$\text{\$w}} (***?o-m\text{\$\text{\$Ca}\$} ?) 'meet' [cf. *114]; see next Kartv. **\$i-\$\si\-\$\si\-\$-\$\si\-\$-\$\si\-\$			_
LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in Kartv. *lām- or *lam- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **\text{*\text{*\text{M}-m}} \text{*\text{wet, liquid'}} 50 s-mic 'meet' (see Ruhlen **Ho-m\u00e9a (< *\u00e7o-m\u00e7ca ?) 'meet' [cf. *114]; see next 51 s-c\u00e9-ci\u00e7n, cay 'blood', ci\u00e7w 'bleed', ci/aqw (reduplication, according to Illich-red, bleed' (Moses cax 'red'; Shuswap cayw 'blood'. Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Klamath \u00e9cept (Text) \u00e9 (
'to rain' Kartv. *lām- or *lam- 'silt, dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. *\times\text{wHem}\triangle \text{wet, liquid'} 50			
dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin (# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **\times\text{MHem}\triangle \text{'wet, liquid'} 50	49	s−łámʔłm 'dew', łám?x ^w	**LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' as in
(# 106) compares Sino-Caucas. **\text{*}*\text{*\te		'to rain'	Kartv. *lam- or *lam- 'silt,
**\text{wHem}\tau 'wet, liquid' 50			dampness', etc. [# 263]; Starostin
S-mic 'meet' (see Ruhlen **Ho-mśa (< **?o-m^Ca ?) #21)			(# 106) compares Sino-Caucas.
#21) 'meet' [cf. *114]; see next S-cá-ci?n, cay 'blood', ci?w 'bleed', ci/aqw (reduplication, according to Illich- 'red, bleed' (Moses cax 'red'; Shuswap cayw 'blood', Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Kla- math čeqle 'blood', Chi- math čeqle 'blood', Chi-			*λωHemΛ 'wet, liquid'
S-cá-ci?n, cay 'blood', ci?w 'bleed', ci/aqw (reduplication, according to Illich-red, bleed' (Moses cax 'red'; Shuswap caγw 'blood', Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Klamath čeqle 'blood', Chi-math čeqle 'blood', ci?w '\$\startv. *\startv. *\startv	50	· ·	**Ho-mśa (< **?o-m/Ca ?)
ci?w 'bleed', ci/aqw (reduplication, according to Illich- red, bleed' (Moses cax red'; Shuswap cayw 'blood'. Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Kla- math čeqle 'blood', Chi- health'. Note prefix **?/- in			'meet' [cf. *114]; see next
'red, bleed' (Moses cax 'red'; Shuswap cayw' 'bloed'); cf. Penutian: Klamath čeqle 'blood', Chi- Svitych) < ***sΛΧΛ, ***?Λ-sΧΛ 'blood'. Cf. Starostin (#169); he compares Alt. *sagΛ 'blood, health'. Note prefix **?Λ- in	51	s-cá-ci?n, cay 'blood',	Kartv. *si-sx-l- 'blood'
'red'; Shuswap cəyw 'blood'. Cf. Starostin (#169); he 'bleed'); cf. Penutian: Kla-math čeqle 'blood', Chi-health'. Note prefix **?^- in		' '	
"bleed"); cf. Penutian: Kla- math čeqle "blood", Chi- health". Note prefix **?∧- in			
math čeqle 'blood', Chi- health'. Note prefix **? \rightarrow in		•	
nook čxi 'bleed', Kalapu- Nostr. (cf. Hittite eshar 'blood').			
			Nostr. (cf. Hittite eshar 'blood').
yan ca:l, cí:li-lu: 'red'			
52 səxwə? 'urine' **siq\ (or **sixu) 'urinate', as in	52	səx ^w a? 'urine'	
IE: Hittite sebur 'urine' (<			_
seḫu-r, as paḫḫu-r 'fire' ?), AA:	l	l	seḫu-r, as paḫḫu-r 'fire' ?), AA:

	SHUSWAP 11	NOSTRATIC
53	kwl- 'bake', c-kwel	IE: Greek kholé 'burn (v.t.)'
	'warmed up'; cf. Coer	etc. (Nostr. *g-), or IE *geul-
	d'Alène kwal' be hot,	'live coals' (Nostr. *k-).
	sunny, warm'	
54	t'ik 'fire' (cf. Cœr d'Alène	Ural. *tä[ɣ]u- 'fire' (cf. Alt.
	t'ak 'brand')	*t'/o/ga id.)[see M 337-12 and
		Starostin #190]
55	tuy-1× 'stoop, bend over',	**toj^ 'tilt, incline; bend', as in
55	tuy-lx 'stoop, bend over', s-tuy 'bent over' (in some	
55		
55	s-tuy 'bent over' (in some	Ural. *taj∧- / *toja- id.,
56	s-tuy 'bent over' (in some Salish languages: tuy	Ural. *taj∧- / *toja- id., Alt. *taja- 'tilt, incline; lean
	s-tuy 'bent over' (in some Salish languages: tuy 'stoop')	Ural. *taj∧- / *toja- id., Alt. *taja- 'tilt, incline; lean against' [M 350-6]
56	s-tuy 'bent over' (in some Salish languages: tuy 'stoop') p'ixw 'roast'	Ural. *taj^- / *toja- id., Alt. *taja- 'tilt, incline; lean against' [M 350-6] **p'iyw^ 'fire' [M 352-5] **6uH^ 'look' [#43],

This list can easily be extended.¹² Validation for many of the comparisons above can be found in other American Indian languages.

¹¹ From A. Kuipers, 'Towards a Salish Etymological Dictionary II', The Working Papers of the XVI Salish Conference, University of Montana (1981) 165.

12 Cf. Moses n-t'al'-ána? 'wolf': Alt. *t'ulkE 'wolf, fox' (Starostin; cf. M 372-11); Pudget t'i-tele? 'young animal': N[ostratic] **t'äHL[i] id. (Dolg.); Salish *k'wiy? 'quiet' (Cf. also Coos k'ai 'be quiet'): N **K'oj (H) \(\) 'lie, rest' [cf. #233], **?al 'be alive': **?el\(\) 'live' [#131], etc. Cf. also comparisons between Sq[uamish] and IE made by Kuipers (appendix to his book). Not all of them are valid; here are some of the sounder ones: Sq tah?, ta? 'undergo, be made, be located': IE *dh\(\overline{e} = '\text{put'}; also 'make' (< N **di\(\text{u} = '\text{put'}; \) [cf. #75 and M 344-3]); Sq s=\(\overline{u} = '\text{put'}; \) also 'make' (cf. M 362-12]); Lith. výras 'man' etc. (< IE *\(\overline{u} = '\text{hro} < N **\(\overline{u} = '\text{put'} \) 'male' [cf. M 362-12]);

For instance, if we add to Salishan *p'ixw- 'burn' or the like (see set 56 above) Penutian, Hokan, Algonquian and Central Amerind data we can reconstruct the root even more precisely: *p'ixwe or *p'ixwe 'fire, heat, hot; burn'. Indeed, the reconstruction of the final *-e is supported by Hokan: Jicaque pwe 'burn', Algonquian *-a-pwe- 'roast, fry', Central Amerind: Kiowe phiæ 'fire' (cf. also Equatorial: Arawak pawa-ta 'make fire'); Penutian confirms the presence of an inlauting h-type fricative: Takelma p'i: 'fire', Proto-Maidu *p'iH- 'fire', etc.

Now as for Nostratic, a root **piywe, with **-e, is possible to reconstruct as well, since Uralic (the most archaic Nostratic language as far as vowels are concerned) has *pīwe 'fire'. In Amerind, the meaning of 'shine, bright' is present as well (cf. Salish: Kalispel p'exw 'bright, shine'). Nostratic has preserved this meaning in Altaic: Proto-Japanese *pà-i 'fire' and *pí 'sun'. And we can go further, comparing (with both Nostratic and Amerind) the Sino-Tibetan *pw@r 'fire'.\frac{13}{13} Here we seem to have an archaic suffix *-r present also in Nostratic: cf. Altaic *p'or^ 'fire', comparable with IE *pexw-r as in Hittite pabbur 'fire' (Starostin); both from Nostratic **p'iywe-r^, or the like.

Looking through the above sets we can easily identify glottalized consonants in Salish $(q^2/q^2w, k^2/k^2w/\delta^2, t^2, p^2)$ with matching consonants in Nostratic (i.e. q^2 , k^2 , t^2 , p^2), and, accordingly, Salish q/qw, $k/kw/\delta$, t, p—with Nostratic q, k, t, p—(as well as g, g, d, b); this confirms, indirectly, Illich-Svitych's reconstructions of Nostratic. Salish $\frac{1}{2}$ (phonetically, a fricative $\frac{1}{2}$) or an affricate $\frac{1}{2}$) matches three DIFFERENT Nostratic sounds, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$. Salish vowels mostly correspond to Nostratic vowels: $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ and

Sq sinλ' 'senior-line children, elder siblings': IE *sen- 'aged' (also 'year': cf. M 337-5); Sq iam? 'gird, girth': IE *iem- 'tie together' (< Nostr. **ńam/\ 'squeeze, seize' [#319]), etc.; Kuipers also compares grammatical elements.

13See Bengtson's 2nd example in RLC, 32.

represent fossilized prefixes in Nostratic: this is clear also from Starostin's Nostratic-Sino-Caucasian comparisons¹⁴

This is just one of very many examples where we can find exact sound correspondences between different phyla — including those of which the ancestral proto-languages are not yet reconstructed. I think that most of such correspondences will hold: the exact phonetic and semantic matches between Salish and Nostratic are remarkable.

* * *

The present volume contains two sections of presentations from participants of the 1988 Ann Arbor Symposium; one dealing with the macrofamily (phylum) of NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES, and the other dealing with INTERPHYLETIC COMPARISONS. A section on RECONSTRUCTIONS follows, which includes Chukchi-Kamchatkan ('Kamchukchee') roots reconstructed by 0. Mudrak plus highlights from the Nostratic Dictionary — Illich-Svitych's introduction, tables of phonetic correspondences, three unabridged entries, and a list of Nostratic roots reconstructed by Illich-Svitych (this list, edited by J. Parkinson, is prefaced by a list of corrections to M. Kaiser's 'V. M. Illic-Svityc's early reconstructions of Nostratic') 15. Following this introduction is a photo section, which includes a picture of Illich-Svitych and his closest friends, Dybo and Bulatova, who have been carrying out the publication of Illich-Svitych's heritage (it is not yet fully published). Other photos are those of the participants of our 1988 symposium.

¹⁴This vol., 54, nos. 37-42, etc.

¹⁵RLC, 131-74.





ABOYE: Vladimir Dybo, Vladislav Illich-Svitych, and Rimma Bulatova on the balcony of Bulatova's apartment in Moscow, 1960. BELOW: arl Menges (Vienna) and Aron Dolgopolsky (Haifa) at the Ann Arbor Symposium, November 1988.





ABOYE: Viacheslav Ivanov and Sergei Starostin (Moscow). BELOW: Merrit Ruhlen (Palo Alto) — Ann Arbor, November 1988.





ABOYE: Gerard Diffloth (Ithaca) and Ilya Peiros (Moscow). BELOW: Vladimir Orël (Moscow). — Ann Arbor, November 1988.

NOSTRATIC LANGUAGES

V.M. ILLICH-SVITYCH AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF URALIC AND DRAVIDIAN LINGUISTICS (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

Vladimir Dybo

In the preface to his work "A Comparison of the Nostratic Languages", V. M. Illich-Svitych wrote: "In the more advanced areas of comparative linguistics...there has recently emerged a certain tendency to overestimate the possibilities of the method of internal reconstruction, whose application without the strict control of external comparison can lead to the construction of a multitude of equally probable and equally arbitrary proto-systems. situation requires that we go beyond the limits of any single language family. Only external comparison guarantees the appropriate verification and enables us to select the single variant out of numerous possible historical reconstructions which most The very existence of 'Nostratic closely approaches reality. linguistics' can be justified by the fact that it not only utilizes the achievements of Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, and other branches of comparative linguistics, but is itself intended to significantly further the development of these areas, just as, e.g., Indo-European aids in the development of Germanic, Slavic, and Iranian studies" (vol. 1, p. 2).

Such a definition of the problem follows naturally from <u>not</u> defining the primary goal of Nostratics to be the determination of a genetic relationship between the six major language families of the Old World. Basically, this fact was already demonstrated by V. M. Illich-Svitych in his earlier, preliminary publications: 1) "Towards a Comparative Dictionary of the Nostratic Languages"; 2) "Correspondences of Stops in Nostratic Languages"; 3) "The Origin of the Indo-European Guttural Series in the Light of External Comparative Data"; 4) "The Reconstruction of Uralic Vocalism in the Light of External Comparative Data".

What is important is that even these first works, which were devoted specifically to proving the remote genetic relationship of the families in question, inspired the author to embark on the study of the comparative historical grammars of these families. This was because Illich-Svitych did not consider the principal goal of the Nostratic theory to be merely proving the kinship of the major language families of the Old World. Instead he set himself the task of creating a comparative historical Nostratic linguistics, that is, a comparative historical phonology, morphology, and word-formation of the Nostratic languages. Proving the genetic relationship of these languages was seen by him as a by-product of solving the primary

task. It is only natural that the creation of Nostratic historical comparative linguistics required a painstaking examination of the data used for comparison, as well as a verification of the precision and reliability of the established reconstructions in each of the compared language families. Elsewhere I have pointed out that in the etymological tradition of each group of the related languages there exists a tendency to convert the corpus of proposed etymological solutions into a closed system, by means of which it is supposedly possible to solve all etymological problems arising in the course of analyzing the languages of the given group. approach is completely appropriate and to reject it would be tantamount to rejecting one of the basic principles of etymological However, in the absence of the strict control provided by external comparison this approach can lead to a situation in which, in those areas of comparative linguistics with highly developed etymological studies, the corpus of etymological propositions appears to be overloaded with versions characterized by exceedingly insignificant differences in probability. A characteristic example is that of Indo-European etymological studies, in which we find a large and ever-growing number of such etymologies. This is particularly true of the basic corpus of root etymologies with dubious derivational, grammatical and semantic motivation. example, if one wished to utilize Indo-European material for Nostratic comparison, Pokorny's dictionary would be quite insufficient for the purpose, since one would have to subject each entry to careful scrutiny and etymological revision. As one uses Illich-Svitych's "Opyt...", one becomes convinced that just such a review was carried out by the author. On the basis of my own experience I can confirm that this revision was every bit as necessary for Indo-European as it was for any other of the Nostratic daughter families.

As if seeking to avoid the mistakes and extreme positions of their Indo-Europeanist colleagues, Uralic etymologists as a rule have shunned root etymologies and semantically suspicious comparisons. When such comparisons occur in the course of comparative Uralic research, they are usually excluded from "respectable" etymological collections. Due to this strictness, precision, and moderation, Uralic etymological studies compare favorably with Indo-European. However, this moderation and precision have not protected Uralic linguistics from the other extremity. Since the end of the "Golden Age" of Uralic studies, there has been a tendency to "simplify" the overall picture in Uralic reconstruction by excluding from it those elements which are insufficiently motivated by the existing corpus and which don't fit well into the accepted structural schemata, in part without any further careful comparative investigation. In Uralic etymological studies this trend is accompanied by an extreme

tendency to identify the etymological picture with the picture produced by reconstruction. Most often this finds expression in the rejection of parallels only because of their non-correspondence in some detail of the reflexes expected by comparative phonology, although the phonological reconstruction of Uralic is itself still far from complete. A rich collection of such comparative phonological "purisms" can be found in Károly Rédei's new Uralic etymological dictionary where, for example, parallels are rejected because of a lack of correspondence in vowel series.

Thanks to his considerable experience in comparative and etymological research within the fields of Slavic and Indo-European, Illich-Svitych was able as early as the 1960's to grasp rapidly both the strong and weak aspects of the Uralic comparative tradition and to determine exactly the level of precision which the strictly comparative procedure had attained. As the basis for the Nostratic comparison he chose the classical Finno-Ugric reconstruction of Settel and his school in its full scope. This choice attests to Illich-Svitych's profound understanding of the strategies of comparative historical research, since however attractive the given reconstructions may be in terms of structure, phonology, and typology, the practicing comparativist above all requires a maximally articulated inventory of reflexes, precisely such as that provided by the classical Finno-Ugric reconstruction.

One should not conclude, however, that Illich-Svitych's adoption of the "classical" reconstruction was motivated exclusively by "strategic" considerations. I will cite an example. Following Toivanen, Illich-Svitych examined the reflexes of affricates in Saami, choosing the variant with three series of medial affricates. In the rough draft of his comparative Nostratic phonology he writes: 'In Saami the existence of sibilants as the third reflex of affricates in the given position renders probable the hypothesis that here the original opposition was ternary, and hence analogical to the similar opposition in stops (geminates, simple affricates, and spirantized affricates $*\acute{c}_I$ and $*\acute{c}_I$). And further: 'The reconstruction for Uralic of a ternary opposition of affricates defined in terms of the nature of closure in intervocalic position (as suggested by Saami) appears to be confirmed by certain comparisions.'

Subsequently this reconstruction was confirmed by external

data (see Table 1, next page).

Thus, in all cases where Illich-Svitych adopted those subtleties of classical Uralic reconstruction which distinguish the latter from modern conceptions, this occurred because modern Uralic studies lacked a convincing comparativist justification for rejecting the results obtained by classical methods. Of course, Illich-Svitych's solutions are not decisive in all such cases. The problems of affricates, laterals, and intervocalic stops remain extremely complex,

and their solution also depends on the state of reconstruction of the compared proto-languages. However, this means that in Uralic the given problem can not be deemed solved and that there remain possible solutions which are alternatives to the currently popular "simplified" Uralic reconstruction.

Table 1	Uralic	Uralic affricates and their correspondences			
glottalic U	ral. kićća	'small'	Kartv.	kuć	
affricates	koćć v	'basket'	HamSem.	k(w)s	
plain U affricates	ral. ruć v	'to press, to destroy'	HamSem.	rs	
voiced U	ral. poč _i ka	'flank'	HamSem.	p <u>hd</u>	
affricates	wič _i v	'to see'	Alt.	ü ǯ ä-	

In my opinion, Illich-Svitych obtained his most interesting and promising results within Proto-Uralic in the reconstruction of the Uralic vowel system. His research in this area continued up to the time of his tragic death in August 1966. The results are scattered in various entries in the "Nostratic Dictionary" and are extremely laconic in nature. In his reanalysis of the Uralic data, Illich-Svitych brilliantly demonstrated the thesis which I introduced at the beginning of my paper.

In contradistinction to Uralic, in Dravidian studies Illich-Svitych's work dealt mainly with consonant systems. Most of his new ideas in this field concern the prehistory of the several Dravidian phonemes. Thus, he demonstrated that the two Dravidian trills (dental r and alveolar r) are the result of a phonologization of initially allophonic variants conditioned by the character (series) of the final vowel of the relevant Nostratic stems:

Dravidian r

- 1. Drav. *par- 'big': Alt. *[bara], Ural. *para
- 2. Dray. *kar(a) 'thorn, blade': Alt. *gara, Ural. *kara
- 3. Dray, *kor-/*kur- 'crane' : Alt. *[kara/kura]
- 4. Drav. *kar(a) 'bank, shore, edge': Alt. *kira
- 5. Dray. *narv 'fire; to be in flames': Alt. *[naha] 'sun'
- 6. Drav. * $k\bar{u}r$ 'antelope, deer' : Alt. * $[g\bar{u}ra$ 'male antelope']
- 7. Drav. *murv- (variant murv-) 'to smash, to break': Ural.
 - *mura/*mora 'friable, fragile'
- 8. Drav. *er-/*eri 'to shine brightly, to flame': Alt. jaru- 'to shine, to shine brightly'
- 9. Drav. $*\bar{u}r$ 'to thaw, to melt' : Alt. $*\bar{u}Ru$ 'to flow'

Dravidian *r

1. Drav. $*i\underline{r}(a)$ -/* $e\underline{r}$ - 'to break': Ur. * $er\ddot{a}$ 'to fall apart, part, portion'

2. Drav. *ēr- 'male' : Alt. *ērä 'male'

- 3. Drav. $*\bar{e}_{\underline{r}}$ 'to rise': Alt. *urä ($\ddot{o}ra \sim or[a]$) 'to rise'
- 4. Drav. $*ka\underline{r}$ (variants $*k\bar{a}r/*k\bar{a}r$) 'black' : Alt. $*Kar\ddot{a}$ 'black'
- 5. Drav. *mār (variant *mār) 'offspring' : Alt. *[miarā- 'marry']
- 6. Drav. *murv 'to twist, to turn' (depalatized variant *muri -):
 Alt. represented by Mong. *muri-, Tung. *möri- 'to turn'
- 7. Drav. *per- 'to pick, to collect': Alt. *bari- 'to take in (one's) hand'
- 8. Drav. *nerri 'forehead, front side': Ur. *nere- 'front of head'

Dravidian long vowels

Example: Drav. $*-i\underline{r}-/*-ir-$ 'to drag': Alt *ir'a

("Opyt" contains seven examples of similar correspondences).

Ur. \overline{a} : Finno-Baltic $\overline{a} \sim$ elsewhere *a reflexes (a/a-stems)

A. 1. 'to ford': Fin. kaalaa- ~ Lapp galle- (< *gälä-), Mord. *käla-, Cher. kel-, Perm. *kêl-, Vogul *käl, Ostj. kül-, S.Ostj. kit-, Kung. kel- (open [e]) 'to rise';

2. 'mountain, forest' : Fin. vaara ~ Lapp varre- (< *wärä), Vogul *wār/wār (< wāra?);

- 3. 'hair, down': Fin. $naava \sim \text{Lapp } njave (< *nawa-);$
- 4. 'fork, branching': Fin. haara ~ Lapp sarre (*šärä)
- 5. 'face': Fin. naama ~ Lapp namme (< *nämä)
- 6. 'custom': Fin. naala ~ Lapp nalle (< *nälä)

 \underline{Ur} . \overline{e} : Finno-Baltic $\overline{e} \sim$ elsewhere * \ddot{a} reflexes

B. 1. 'side, half': Fin. pieli (< *pēle-) ~ Lapp bælle-, Mord. *pälə, Cher. pel, pele, Perm., pól, Vogul *päl, Hung. fél, fele-.

External comparisons

<u>Ur.ä</u>

- 1. Ur. $k\bar{a}l\ddot{a}$ 'to walk': Alt. $[k\bar{a}l\ddot{u}]$: Drav. $k\bar{a}l$ (Opyt I, N 161)
- 2. Ur. ńāwä 'hair, down': Drav. * ñāv- or *nāv- (Opyt II, N 322)
- 3. Ur. wärä 'mountain, forest': Drav. *vär (Illich-Svitych notebooks)

Ur. e

- 1. Ur. $k\bar{e}le$ 'tongue, language' : Alt. $k^{\epsilon}\bar{a}l\ddot{a}$ (Opyt I, N 221)
- 2. Ur. wēre 'edge, shore' : Drav. var- 'side, edge' (DED 358; Illich-Svitych notebooks)

Another result of the successful application of external comparison was Illich-Svitych's successful explanation of irregularities in the length of first-syllable vowels as due to compensatory lengthening brought about by the reduction of final low vowels, cf. Drav. -ir-/-ir- 'to drag', 'to pull' (corresponding to Alt. ir'a), etc. (there are seven such examples in the first two volumes of Illich-Svitych's dictionary), although lengthening does not occur

when an etymologically expected high vowel is reduced.

In other instances external comparison compelled Illich-Svitych to introduce changes in the Dravidian reconstruction. Thus, it proved to be the case that entities which correspond externally to sibilants and point to a consonant series reconstructed by Illich-Svitych as composed of laterals, coincided with a class of morphemes containing Drav. c-/cc- and giving the reflex k- in North Dravidian and Bragui. This led Illich-Svitych to reject the notion that this reflex is secondary, positionally conditioned, or sporadic, and to reconstruct a particular Dravidian phoneme c_1 -. On similar grounds he proposed the reconstruction of Drav. p_1 - (a lax p-), which has variants exhibiting two-fold reflexes: p- $\sim v$ -).

In all such instances, one can see that external comparisons inspired Illich-Svitych to examine alternatives which had been rejected or overlooked in the course of internal comparison within the daughter languages, and to reestablish the strict control of the

comparativist procedure.

Dravidian languages came into the orbit of Illich-Svitych's Nostratic research at a comparatively late date (later than the other language groups). This seems to explain why we now find many Dravidian parallels that were not used by him even in the first edition of Emenau and Burrow's etymological dictionary. On the other hand, new advances in the acquisition of Dravidian data, particularly Central Dravidian, as a rule have confirmed the proto-Dravidian nature of the parallels proposed by Illich-Svitych on the basis of one of the Dravidian groups. Thus, for example, comparision #160 (*käjw 'to chew'), which, as we can see today, should now include the Dravidian morpheme introduced by Illich-Svitych on the basis of South Dravidian material available at the time.

As I have attempted to show, Illich-Svitych's research was not based on a comparision of reconstructed protoforms taken from etymological dictionaries and certainly not on the comparison of individual lexemes selected from dictionaries, as his critics have sometimes claimed. His work was distinguished by an exceptional attention to the entire corpus of the comparative evidence from individual languages, as well as by a methodological rigor which is often lacking in the work of many of his critics.

Yet another conclusion that emerges from a study of Illich-Svitych's Nostratic works is that only extreme methodological rigor, precision, and comprehensiveness of scope can ensure true success in the investigation of remote genetic relationships among the world's languages.

Translated by Joseph Schallert

Table

glottalized	Ur. kićća 'small' ~ Kart. ku¢		
affricates	Ur. koćć∧ 'woven basket' ~ SH ķ(w)ş		
plain affricates	Ur. ruća 'crush, destroy' ~ SH rs		
voiced	Ur. poč₁ka 'thigh' ~ SH ph <u>d</u>		
affricates	Ur. wič₁∧ 'see' ~ Alt. üǯä		

Table 2

Uralic	Altaic	Dravidian	Reconstruction
а	а	а	*a
0	0	0/a	*0
u	u	u	*u
ä	ä	а	*ä
е	е	е	*e
i	i	i	*i
ü	ü/ö	u	*ü

Table 3
The Uralic o in e-stems

Nr	language word	Finn.	Mordv.	Mari	Perm'.	Mansi	Hanty
1	'sinew'	suone-	*sAn	*sün/sön	*seౖn	*ten	*pan
2	'arrow'	nuole-	*nal	*nölö	ńel	*ńęl	ńal
3	'(fish-) scale'	suomu	*śav	*šüm/ šöm	śęm	*sēm	sam
4	'bird cherry-tree'	tuome-	*lam	[lom-bo]	lgm	*lēm	[ſôm:ſǎm]
5	'to rub'	huosia		čüčeš	?	∗sēs-	čač
б	'to build'	vuole-			vel		
7	'to peel'	kuore-	*kar'				
8	'mountain'	vuore-			ver		
9	'young'	nuore-		nör-ga			
10	'way, rank'	juone-	jAn	jön			

Table 4
The Uralic ō in a-stems

Nr.	language! word	Finn.	Mordv.	Mari	Perm'.	Mansi	Hanty
1	'intestine'	suole-	*sułə	šolo	*šul		*sôl
2	'to lick'	nuole-	*nola	nula	*ńula	ńal-ant	*nôl-/ *ńăl
3	'to die'	kuole-	*kulə-	kola-	*kuln	kāl	*kôl/ *kăl
4	'berry'	puola			*pul	[*pul]	
5	'side; half'	puole-	*pola				
6	'forehead'	kuono	*końa				
7	'tent-pole'	vuole-			[*y]-]	[*wŭla]	*wôl

Table 5
The Uralic ŏ in e-stems

Nr	anguage word	Finn.	Mordv.	Mari	Perm'.	Mansi	Hanty
1	'river'	joki	jov		*ju	*jē	*jogəñ
2	'arch'	jousi/ joutsi	jonks	[*jåŋež]		[*jĂơt]	*jogət
3	'door'	ovi				*ē^w	* 0∀-
4	'cartilage'			nörgö		*ńēౖr	*ńarəɣ
5	'cheek'	poski				*pēt/ pajt	*pŏγəθ/ puγθ
6	'moisture'	noro, noru		nörö, nöra	*ńur	*ńē̞r	*ńor
7	'to drink'	juo<*joye		jüeš (3sgPr)	*ju	[*ēj/ej]	*jöńt'
8	'swan'	juotsen	lokśti	jükšə	*juś		
9	'to peck'	nokkia, nokka				nējkw	*noy-
10	'bosom'	pove	*poŋga	[*poŋgyš]	[pi-]	[*pūt]	[*pūɣəʌ]
1.1	'three'	kolme	*kolmə	[kym/ kum]	[*kolm]	[kūrəm/ kŭrm]	konəm
12	'saliva'	karel nolki	nolgə				
13	'straw'	olke	*olgə				

Table 6
The Uralic o in a-stems

Nr.	language word	Finn.	Mordv.	Mari	Perm'.	Mansi	Hanty
1	(to) sleep		*udə				οθ/αθ
2	dream		udoma	[omo]	[o̯lm]	[*uləm/ ŭlm]	[aθəm/ oθəm/ upəm]
3	squirrel	orava	*urə	ur	*ur-		
4	peel	Est. kõba	*kuva	kuvo			
5	fence	otava	[*oš]			*uš	*wač
6	hare		*numola				
7	to wait	odotta	ušə	wuča (3sgPr)			
8	slave	orjA	uŕě				
9	awl .	ora	*urə				
10	house	kota	*kudə	kudo	∗koʻ, ka		kat
1 1	orphan	orpo, orvo	urəs	*urwezə			
12	male	oras	urəs				
13	piglet	porsas	purc		pors		
14	to penetrate		suva			ta/tŭj	θăŋ
15	mild, weak			[lynzyri]		[*lănćeŋ]	[lŏńśi/ luńtə]
16	space	jotkA	jutkə			jot, jāt	
17	birch	koivu	*kujv (>kig)	kue, kugi		[*k@l]	
18	head	oiva		wuj		*ēwa/ *āwA	08/u8/ŏ8
19	son	poikA	*pujə	[*pü]	[pi]	*pĭy	păy
20	duck	sotka	śulgə	šue	[*śulə]	*sēl'	saj

THE APPLICABILITY OF EXACT METHODS IN NOSTRATIC RESEARCH (PRELIMINARY REPORT)

Irén Hegedüs

- 1.0. Nostratic studies endeavor to dive into the prehistory of reconstructed protolanguages; they undertake the task of solving problems which seem inexplicable when viewed from the standpoint of one individual language famiy. If we want to uncover and examine genetic relations between languages at such an early time, then it is important that we not overlook the advantages of utilizing methods from other fields of research as well as linguistics. The application of extralinguistic methods can help us to verify, as well as to refine, the results of our Nostratic research. Since Nostratics is one of the most interdisciplinary branches of linguistics, as well it should be, the idea of an interdisciplinary approach to the study of Nostratics is hardly an arbitrary one; on the contrary, it seems completely natural, inherent in the theory itself.
- 2.0. The first group of such specialized methods as these includes modeling, extrapolation and the principle of correspondence; all of these have by now become general metascientific procedures. The inclusion of these methods in Nostratic study is likely to be extremely beneficial to the strength of the general theoretical foundation of these studies.
- 2.1. MODELING AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE NOSTRATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY. Regardless of the extreme opinions judging the Nostratic hypothesis as being both already proven or unprovable, we can safely state that the construction of a Nostratic Language Family Model (NLFM) is not entirely void of merit. Modeling in general is the result of making hypotheses, i.e. using phenomenon a as a model for phenomenon A is the result of forming hypotheses about the evolution or structure of a.

The hypothesis of departure in constructing in NLFM is the theory that the relations between language families are similar to the relations observable within the individual language families; that is, we assume that the developmental processes after the disintegration of the protolanguages were analogous to those preceding their disintegration. If we accept that the corresponding features in Indo-European languages are not the results of convergence alone, then why should we have any more reason to believe that the systematic correspondences between Indo-European, Uralic, Altaic, and other protolanguages are the result of convergence alonge? Hadjú, among other linguists, states that the correspondences between Uralic and other language groups go far beyond the basic vocabulary, and include such structural elements as endings, markers, and derivational elements. He finds that the nature and regularity of these correspondences is such that borrowing, chance similarities or convergence alone simply cannot account for them (Hajdú, 1966, 91). Instead, he proposes that the correspondences originate from prolonged areal contact. My conception of correspondences acquired in areal contact is that if we were to actually strip them down to the bone, they would turn out to be extreme cases of borrowing. Thus, I find Hajdú's solution not quite acceptable, and somewhat self-contradictory; it denies the theory of standard borrowing and substitutes for it a special theory of 'areal contact', a special type of borrowing,

If Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic, and other such reconstructed forms are considered to be legitimate, then they can provide a sound basis for further reconstructions. Discussions about the legitimacy of reconstructions have led me to adopt the viewpoint that the reconstructed units have an identity of their own which reflects the current state of comparative studies, and not necessarily whatever their original identity might have been. Thus we can see that reconstructions, like our knowledge of the laws of nature, can be disproven with the growth of scientific experience. A similar opinion on the legitimacy of Uralic reconstructions is expressed by Honti, who assumes that the conjectured vocabulary posited for Proto-Uralic may be able to help us learn some more definite facts about the distant theoretical connections of the Uralic language family. Thus ef-

forts to reconstruct the protolanguage even in mosaic-like form are useful, not because they may be accurate, but because they can serve as the object of yet further examinations (Honti, 1976: 132, 137).

The NLFM, in much the same way as mathematical models, must be built on a set of axioms (preliminary propositions not verified by the theory), from which all consequent theories are expected to derive. Such a set of theories for the NLFM does not yet exist, but I think that the following two principles should by all means be included in the set:

i. The Nostratic protolanguage was in no respect 'more primitive' than were Proto-Indo-European, Proto-Uralic, and the other protolanguages that descended from it; Proto-Nostratic predates these reconstructed protolanguages by only 10,000 years at the very most. If Proto-Nostratic is to be dated at around 15,000 B.C., that places its existence around 20 millennia after the emergence of articulate human language. This axiom may sound self-evident, but it is certainly not unnecessary, as there are still several misconceptions regarding Proto-Nostratic as some kind of universal proto-speech or as the primordial language of *Homo sapiens*. (Cf. Gluhak, 1977: 54; Serebrennikov, 1982: 55, 56). This misconception has been criticized by Dybo as well (Dybo, 1984: 10).

ii. Another axiom for the NLFM would be the assumption of an analogy between the trends of linguistic development within and between the individual language families belonging to the Nostratic macrofamily. This axiom could be formulated as follows: Germanic Slavic Baltic Indo-Iranian Armenian etc.

Proto-Indo-European Proto-Indo-European Proto-Uralic Proto-Altaic Proto-Afro-Asiatic Proto-Dravidian Proto-Kartvelian

Proto-Nostratic

The interpretation of the axiomatic approach does not require the a priori evidence of the axioms. The question as to whether or not an axiom is true can be answered by interpreting the set of axioms themselves. If the interpretations are possible or theoretically inferable, then the axioms can be accepted as formally true.

2.2. EXTRAPOLATION AND THE PRINCIPLE OF CORRESPONDENCE. In exploring unknown territories, scientists often resort to the general theory of extrapolation. The essence of extrapolation is that certain methods applied in earlier research are carried over to unknown territories. This procedure is based on the principle of correspondence that regulates the connection between old and new theories and secures the continuity of scientific research and the integration of a new hypothesis into previous knowledge.

Nostratic scholars are often accused of unjustifiably extending the traditional historical-comparative method to such an early stage of history that the method itself becomes uncertain and useless, due to the obscurity caused by the considerable span of time between the Nostratic time period and the present. According to Kiparsky's view, the traditional comparative method is applicable up to 20,000 years back in time (Kiparsky, 1976: 67). Nostratic studies certainly do not attempt to predate that! but even if we consider Kiparsky's assessment too generous, we still should not forget that the Nostratic theory is still largely based on extrapolation, since its basic assumption is that the laws governing language change after the disintegration of the protolanguages cannot have been very different from those governing language change before their extinction. Thus, comparison

within the individual language families can also be utilized as previous experience in comparisons between them.

Comparative studies within the individual language families seem to be confined by the temporal limits set by their reconstructed protostages. This borderline has been crossed by Nostratics, a change which I consider to be a quantitative one, in agreement with Helimsky (1986: 251). The historical development of languages is continuous; it is only our practice of reconstructing protolanguages that has created this artificial borderline between protolinguistics and paleolinguistics. This quantitative change in the attitude towards the time periods of the reconstructions, however, consequently produces qualitatively different results; it is these results which largely justify the existence of the Nostratic approach. Nostratics also meet the requirement that a new theory not only has to explain the new state of affairs, but also has to explain the derivation of previously known knowledge from it. And if the theory is such that even the gaps in the previous knowledge can be filled up with its introduction, then the extrapolation has been fully grounded and successful.

- 3.0. The other group of specialized methods which should be used includes probability calculus, factor analysis and statistics. These methods, based directly on mathematics, can positively influence the practical course of Nostratic research.
- 3.1. CALCULUS OF PROBABILITY. Linguists studying the correspondences in Nostratic languages are continually faced with the problem of how to face these correspondences; chance resemblance and borrowing can very often obscure the original genetic affiliations. At this point, exact mathematical methods can be of much assistance. Probability is most efficient in describing chance phenomena, as has already been exemplified by Dolgopolsky in his classic article (Dolgopolsky 1964: 53ff). His procedure has been criticized by Róna-Tas, who states that Dolgopolsky's procedure has failed on its techniques of sampling; he states that because language is a system, methods based on random sampling for studying linguistic phenomena are inadequate (Róna-Tas, 1978: 221). Róna-Tas may be right in

stating the inadequacy of random sampling, but he seems to have overlooked the fact that it is not a random sample that Dolgopolsky has worked with. What he has used in his probabilistic approach is known in statistics as a concentrated sample. The use of a concentrated sample basically means that the procedure requires a special sample that must exclude borrowings; i.e., contains only the most stable units. For this purpose, Dolgopolsky first filtered out borrowings from the sample by the statistical examination of morpheme retention. Doerfer has two objections against Dolgopolsky's calculations:

1. 'Grundsätzlich ist die Formel, die Dolgopol'skij verwendet, diejenige, die man anwenden muß, wenn z. B. ein Würfel 100 Mal nacheinander 6 würfelt (und man bräche das Würfeln ab). In diesem Falle wäre klar, daß der Würfel gefälscht ist (kein Zufall vorliegt, sondern Kausalbeziehung, dem entspricht aber bei Sprachen eben die Verwandschaft, bzw. die Entlehnung). Hier darf man nun aber nicht übersehen, daß dieselbe Zahl 100 in der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung ganz entgegensetzte Bedeutungen haben kann: Werfe ich 100 Mal nacheinander 6, bedeutet dies, daß Zufall praktisch ausgeschlossen ist, kausale Bedingtheit praktisch sicher. Werfe ich dagegen 600 mal, und davon 100 mal 6, bedeutet dies, daß kausale Bedingtheit praktisch ausgeschlossen ist, Zufall praktisch sicher.' (Doerfer, 1973: 115)

This is a mere misinterpretation of the procedure carried out by Dolgopolsky. The die-casting simile that Doerfer draws is not only defective, but has simply nothing to do with the case at hand. Any linguist would know that the probability that two morphemes carrying the same meaning in two different languages will coincide is very high. But when comparing four, five, or more languages, this likelihood is reduced to the insignificant. Greenberg has pointed out that one single item present in four or five languages at the same time has a larger capacity for a correspondence to be proven than do dozens of pairwise correpsondences (Greenberg, 1953: 271). Furthermore, if 8 out of 100 words coincide in two languages, then only one out of every 25,000 words should coincide by chance in the comparison of five languages. Practically, this means, as is also emphasized by Hajdú (Hajdú, 1966: 33), that we have to compare 1000 words from each of the five languages and then repeat the process 25 times to find even one chance resemblance. So even linguists who reject or are unconcerned with the Nostratic hypothesis must admit that multiple comparisons have an advantage of minimizing the probability of chance correspondence; herein lies the benefit of multilanguage comparison. So the die is cast! The other objection that Doerfer raises is against Dolgopolsky's sampling technique:

 'Er hat zur Emplification seiner These willkürlich 15 Worter herausgegriffen wo sich bei den vergleichenen Sprachfamilien relativ viele Ähnlichkeiten fanden...Er hat weder dynamischen Zufall, noch Lautsymbolik berücksichtigt.' (Doerfer, 1973: 114-115)

As far as dynamic coincidence is concerned, that is exactly what the statistical examination of morpheme retention is aimed at. By 'dynamic coincidence', Doerfer means the convergence of the sound shape of words ('lautliche Konvergenz'), which Dolgopolsky tried to discard by selecting the stablest possible items. From an etymological point of view, however, the article may contain some fallacies, as Dolgopolsky himself admits in the introduction to the English translation, published more than two decades after the original; it is still methodologically sound.

Here we must state once again that Dolgopolsky's is a concentrated sample, and as such, it has to be arbitrary. It seems to be the case that one linguist's perfume is another's poison: while Róna-Tas has dismissed the probabilistic method on the grounds that it is based on a random sample, Doerfer rejects it on the grounds that it is based on an arbitrary sample.

3.2. FACTOR ANALYSIS. For the determination of linguistic relationships, Herdan proposed the method of factor analysis, which 'enables us to determine the 'saturation' of a given language with the parent language as the factor common to all languages, the influence of what may be called secondary factors, such as geographical position, and finally, the amount of 'specificity' as that which distinguishes a given language from all others in the group.' (Herdan, 1964: 125) He used Fronzaroli's sample of isoglosses from Semitic languages (Fronzaroli, 1961: 348ff). Later, Fronzaroli pointed out that Herdan's procedure has some shortcomings which could be elimi-

nated by multiple factor analysis. Fronzaroli considers multiple factor analysis to be capable of extracting not only the common portion of correlations, but also other components, such as the speed of the typological evolution and the weight of areal contacts (Fronzaroli, 1973: 109). My own suggestion is that we calculate the connectivity in the Nostratic branches by selecting phonological, morphological, and lexical isoglosses as a representative sample of features either appearing or missing in the different branches. On the basis of this, we can construct a chance model of connectivity for each branch which runs parallel to the others, as well as establish the saturation of each branch with the common Nostratic components.

Since my presupposition is that the morphological data may produce a different picture of connectivity between the Nostratic branches, it seems reasonable to carry out factor analysis on the basis of morphological isoglosses as a separate procedure from the phonological and lexical ones. Although factor analysis has as of yet only been applied to languages whose relationship is already proven, I can see no theoretical condition which would contradict the applicability of this method to Nostratic languages.

3.3. Simple statistical analyses can also further the development of Nostratic studies. The connections between the branches of the Nostratic macrofamily are illuminated by the calculations done by Korenchy on the basis of the first volume of the Nostratic dictionary by Illich-Svitych (Korenchy, 1975: 109-115). The strength of affinity and the degree of affiliation become more tangible, which helps us to formulate the spacial and temporal characterization of the relations within the Nostratic language family. Korenchy's results should be updated by adding the material from the second volume of Illich-Svitych's Nostratic dictionary, as well as from the first fascicle of Volume Three.

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NOSTRATIC AND SINO-CAUCASIAN

Sergei Starostin

After the appearance of Vladislav Illich-Svitych's Nostratic Dictionary (= Illich-Svitych 1971-) - a decisive step in proving the genetic relationship of the Nostratic languages - several crucial questions still have to be answered. They can be formulated as follows:

- a) How, precisely, should the Nostratic languages be classified? (For example, does there exist a distinct Altaic branch of Nostratic? Can the Nostratic languages be subdivided into 'Eastern' and 'Western' Nostratic? What are the exact boundaries of the Afro-Asiatic branch within Nostratic?)
- b) Are there any other linguistic families that can be included in Nostratic?
- c) Can we locate the hypothetical disintegration of Proto-Nostratic in space and time?
- d) If there are other macrofamilies besides Nostratic (which now seems to be obvious), is Nostratic genetically related to them?

Any progress in answering any of these questions could be of great importance for our understanding of linguistic prehistory. In this paper I shall express my present views on some of them.

A. Although there has been much debate about the problem of Altaic as a branch of Nostratic, I think that the Altaic family (which includes Turkic, Mongol, and Tungus, as well as Korean and Japanese), can be documented as a distinct entity, and the date of Proto-Altaic split can be placed somewhere on the border of the 6th and 5th millennia B.C.

The problem of Afro-Asiatic is much more complicated. In fact, even among the advocates of the Nostratic theory there is no consensus on the place of Afro-Asiatic within Nostratic. Recent research, both comparitive-lexicographic and lexicostatisitic, has revealed a great degree of diversity within Afro-Asiatic itself. Preliminary

glottochronological analysis (more positive results could be obtained only after compiling the new Afro-Asiatic etymological dictionary) seems to indicate the possible date of the Proto-Afro-Asiatic split as somewhere in the 11th-10th millennium B.C. — which means that Afro-Asiatic must be as old as Nostratic itself (all other subgroups of Nostratic reveal a much higher rate of coincidences within the basic vocabulary). I think that the final solution to this problem should be postponed until we obtain an improved reconstruction of Proto-Afro-Asiatic and its complete volume of etymologies.

One consequence of this 'cautious approach' to Afro-Asiatic is that I prefer presently to exclude Afro-Asiatic material from the Nostratic comparisons. This does not mean, of course, that Afro-Asiatic parallels for Nostratic roots presented in Illich-Svitych's dictionary and elsewhere (notably in Aron Dolgopolsky's works) are all accidental 'look-alikes': they may purely reflect a relationship between Afro-Asiatic and Nostratic at some deeper level; I shall return to this point later in this paper.

As for the division of Nostratic into 'Eastern' and 'Western', I think that it certainly exists (Indo-European and Kartvelian have a lot of individual common features), but is areal rather than genetic by nature (lexically Indo-European seems to be even closer to Uralic than to Kartvelian). Again, the position of Afro-Asiatic relative to Nostratic seems to speak against the Western Nostratic unity (features that Proto-Afro-Asiatic shares with Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Kartvelian can be explained as a result of a secondary 'linguistic alliance'.)

B. Several attempts have been made to relate some other linguistic families (Eskimo-Aleut, some American languages, Yeniseian, Nivkh, Sino-Tibetan, North Caucasian) to Nostratic. The only probable theory by now seems to be that of including Eskimo-Aleut in Nostratic (Oleg Mudrak). On the other hand, I have tried to demonstrate the special relationship between Sino-Tibetan, North Caucasian and Yeniseian. ('Sino-Caucasian', which must be dated approximately to the 9th and 8th millennia B.C.; rather probable is also the inclusion of Na-Dene languages into Sino-Caucasian, proposed by S. L. Nikolaev)

There is also a good critical survey of this problem, by Eugene Helimsky (1984). I will therefore in this paper confine Nostratic to Indo-European, Kartvelian, Uralic, Altaic, Dravidian, and probably Eskimo-Aleut.

Since I am a supporter of glottochronology (although I believe that some of its principles are to be modified), I believe in the possibility of absolute linguistic dating (although, of course, highly approximate). One point, however, must be especially stressed; we can obtain satisfying glottochronological results only for language families with a well-developed comparative phonology and lexicography. Nothing has done more harm to glottochronology than its uncritical application to poorly studied linguistic data. Since we can not yet claim to have full knowledge of Nostratic comparative phonology (and what is perhaps even more important - of Nostratic comparative vocabulary; I am sure that the bulk of existing common Nostratic roots can be substantially increased), any attempts to date the Proto-Nostratic split by means of glottochronology are in fact premature. Still, a very approximate guess is 10th-12th millennium B.C. (This dating is of course liable to future verification; it seems however to be probable as well for some reasons other than glottochronology). As to the possible Nostratic homeland, I can only say that it deserves further joint investigation by linguists, archaeologists and other specialists, and depends largely on improving our knowledge of Proto-Nostratic vocabulary.

Recent decades have witnessed substantial progress in long range linguistic comparison. Besides Nostratic, we can now more or less positively speak of the existence of several other macrofamilies: Austro-Tai (and probably even broader: Austric), Afro-Asiatic (if excluded from Nostratic), Sino-Caucasian, Amerind. Comparative research within most of these macrofamilies is only beginning (exceptions are, of course, Afro-Asiatic and Nostratic itself, which are somewhat better explored). Still I think that the question about mutual relationship of macrofamilies is wholly justified — even if the answer by now must be but preliminary.

The rest of this paper will present an attempt to make a genetic link between Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian. To do that, I shall first put forward some phonological observations, since any comparison is futile without at least rough phonetic correspondences.

- 1. NOSTRATIC. I will in general preserve the phonological system of Proto-Nostratic as outlined in the *Nostratic Dictionary*. But there are some points I would like to dwell upon:
- a) The system of Nostratic affricates and sibilants probably needs a revision (see Dolgopolsky 1974). But recently, some work has been done on reinterpreting the affricate systems of Proto-Kartvelian (Y. Testelets) and Proto-Altaic (myself), and until the results of these studies are checked with Illich-Svitych's and Dolgopolsky's reconstructions, I would prefer to hold onto the original notation.
- b) The reconstruction of the set of uvular consonants for Proto-Nostratic by Illich-Svitych was based only on Kartvelian evidence. However, all other Nostratic languages lack this series of stops and it is quite probable that in Kartvelian they are secondary, acquired under influence of neighboring North Caucasian languages. External evidence shows that PN *q' has exactly the same counterparts as PN *k', and we will treat them as one and the same phoneme (reflexes of *k' and *q' coincide in all Nostratic languages except Kartvelian). As for Nostratic uvulars *q and *9, they can be treated in most cases as the velar spirants *x and *y (although in some cases Kartvelian *q seems to be a result of a secondary shift *k > *q analogous to *k' > q').
- c) There has been a recent attempt to reinterpret the Nostratic system of stops (Bomhard 1987), stimulated mainly by the so-called glottalic theory of Indo-European stops. According to Allan Bomhard, Indo-European voiced (aspirated) stops correspond to Kartvelian voiced stops (in this point his theory coincides with that of Illich-Svitych); Indo-European glottalized (traditionally, voiced unaspirated) stops correspond to Kartvelian glottalized stops, and Indo-European voiceless (aspirated) stops. The two latter correspondences

are strongly opposed to Illich-Svitych's rules (according to which PIE *d, *g = PK *t, *k; while PIE *t, *k = PK *t', *k').

If one excludes Afro-Asiatic data (as we proposed to do above), the weakness of Bomhard's theory immediately becomes apparent. Searching through the material adduced in Bomhard 1987, I could not find a single example of PIE *t (or *th in the 'glottalic' notation) = PK *t or PIE *k (*kh) = PK *k. On the other hand, in one of Illich-Svitych's basic works (Sootv.) we find several good examples of PIE *d (or *t' in the 'glottalic' notation) = PK *t and PIE *g (*k') = PK *k (cf. PIE *del(H)- 'split, trim' = PK *tal- 'trim, plane'; PIE *deH- 'drip, flow' = PK *tx- 'pour', PIE *skeid- 'split'= PK *c₁it- 'hew', PIE *gel(ō)u-'husband's sister' = PK *kal- 'woman'), and more examples can be added. As to the correspondence PIE *d(*t') = PK *t', PIE *g(*k') = PK *k'(or *g'), in Bomhard 1987. we find four examples of it: PIE *deH-'cleave asunder, divide' = PK *t'ex- 'to break'; PIE *gel/*gol-/*gl-'neck, throat' = PK *g'eli id, (but cf. PIE *kol- id,), PIE *gwer- 'to swallow; neck, throat' = PK *q'war- 'pharynx, throat, gullet' (probably PK *g'org'- [See Klimov 1964:213] is meant); PIE *gwel- 'strike, kill' = PK *q'wel- 'slay, kill'. Only the last example is satisfactory (in fact, Iffich-Svitych lists it [1967:370] in spite of its irregularity). On the other hand, Bomhard disregards completely a very considerable number of correspondences PIE *t, *k = PK *t', *k'(*g'), cf. (in Sootv.); PIE *terp- 'be satiated, satisfied'= PK *t'rp- 'enjoy'; PIE *lat- 'wet, liquid' = PK *lt'w- 'soak'; PIE *mat- 'worm, grub' = PK *mat'l- 'worm'; PIE *kwel- 'turn round' PK *k'wer- 'round'; PIE *ker- 'bind' : PK *k'(a)r- id.; PIE *ket- 'building, room'; PK *k'ed- 'build'; PIE *kel- 'rise, high': PK *k'latx- 'high'; PIE *kerd- 'heart': PK *mk'erd- 'breast'; PIE *luk- 'lynx': PK *lak'(w)- 'dog'; PIE *kleu- 'hear': PK *g'ur- 'ear'; PIE *(e)lek- 'elbow': PK *d(l)ag'w- id. etc. That is why I now deem it impossible to justify Bomhard's revision of the Nostratic phonological system and think that the original system of correspondences established by Illich-Svitych is to be preserved (although its phonetic interpretation may be different; see below).

2. SINO-CAUCASIAN. In 1984 I presented a rather complicated system of correspondences between North Caucasian, Sino-Tibetan and Yeniseian (Starostin1984:20-21). However, recent developments in the field of North Caucasian comparative phonology (connected with my joint work with Sergei Nikolaev on the Etymological Dictionary of North Caucasian languages) have now made it possible to modify and simplify this system considerably.

It appears now that Proto-NC had no opposition between voiced and tense voiceless stops (*k-g, *t-d etc.), as we originally thought. This opposition can be shown to have arisen secondarily only in Eastern Dagestan languages due to a split of a single Proto-Dagestanian voiced stop series. Now the so-called geminates in Proto-NC (e.g. *cc, *\lambda \lambda) appear to have had a specific distribution: within one root there could be combined only either 'geminated' consonants (e.g. *qqaqqa 'seed, grain') or 'non-geminated' e.g. č'äč'wV 'stone'), the only obligatory exception being the roots with an inlauting sonant (e.g. *cwarggwV 'weasel, martin', not *ccwarggwV). Thus it is possible to regard Proto-NC 'geminates' as allophones of simple (non-geminated) consonants arising under special conditions (probably prosodic, something like 'tense voice'). Below we shall mark such cases by underlining the neighboring vowel (e.g. *č'ač'wV as opposed to *qaqa and *cwargwV). It is necessary to note also that the sounds that we originally interpreted as 'strong' ('tense') spirants (*-s, *-x, etc.) reveal the same kind of distribution as 'geminates' and thus can be also treated as allophones of simple ('lax') spirants (*s, *x, etc.).

After these (and some other) modifications have been introduced, the reinterpreted set of correspondences between Sino-Caucasian languages looks as follows:

SC	NC	ST	PY
*p	р	ph/bh,-p	p
*b	b .	p(h),-p	p/b
*p'	p'	b,-p	b
*t	t	th/dh,-t	d
*d	d	t(h),-t	t
*t'	t'	t/d,-t	d
*k	k	k/gh,-k	g
*g	g	k(h),-k	k
*k'	k'	k(h)/g,-k	g,-k
* s	s	s,-Ø	s(/d)
*c	c	c(h),-t	č/s
*3	3	s/3h,-t	ǯ∕s
*c'	c'	s/ch,-t	c/s
*st	С	?	t
*sd	z	ch-	t
*st'	c'	S-	t
*š	š	š-,-Ø	s(/d)
*č	č	č/ǯ,-t	č-/ǯ-,s
* š	ž	č-	č-, s/ž
*č'	č'	č-/ǯh-,-t	č-/ǯ-, s/ǯ
*št	č	-t	t
*šd	ž	č(h)-	t
*šť	č'	?	t
*ś	ś	s-,-Ø	s(/d)
*ć	ć	č,-t	ǯ−, s
*ź		č,-t	ǯ−, s
*ć'	ά ć'	č/š, -t	c/s
*λ	λ	1	Ø-,1/Í
* 2.	2.	1/ 2 ,−k	?-, r
* X	χ	1/ 2 ,−k	k-,r
*λ'	λ,	1/ 2 ,-k	j-,k-, 1(1)
*xk	2.	- k	- x -
*xg	g	gh-,-k	q-,-x-/-x-

SC	NC	ST	PY	
*xk'	k'	-k	q-,-9-(?)	
*x	x	x/q(h)-,-Ø/-k	x/x	
*x	×	$k(h)qh^{(w)},-\emptyset/-k$	x/d	
*q	q	q~ 9,-k	x-,q/9	
*9	9 .	q(h)/9,-k	¤-,q/9	
*q'	q'	Q(w)/K,-k	x/q	
px*	q	k	x(/k)	
*x9	9	k	k	
*xq'	q'	k	g/x	

For other consonants (sonants, voiced spirants, laryngeals and pharyngeals), see Starostin 1984:22.

3. NOSTRATIC AND SINO-CAUCASIAN. At present, the lexical evidence presented below can be regarded only as a preliminary list. I have confined the Nostratic vocabulary strictly to the set of roots presented in the Nostratic Dictionary and Illich-Svitych 1967 (only a few roots quoted in several of Dolgopolsky's papers have been added) and have completely ignored parallels where only one of the Nostratic subgroups is present (such as Altaic-Sino-Caucasian). It is thus evident that the list can be substantially enlarged, but that is a matter for future studies.

For a considerable amount of roots in the list parallels from other macrofamilies (at least from Afro-Asiatic and Austric) can be found; in fact, a great number of Afro-Asiatic parallels are already published in the works of Illich-Svitych, Dolgopolsky, and others. I have no reason at all to suppose a closer genetic link between Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian than, say, between Nostratic and Afro-Asiatic or between Afro-Asiatic and Sino-Caucasian. (In fact, a preliminary study together with A. Militarëv and V. Orël has revealed quite a lot of probable isoglosses between Afro-Asiatic and Sino-Caucasian.) That is why no attempt has been made to reconstruct 'Proto-Nostratic-Sino-Caucasian' — one should rather postpone it until we

know more about the inter-relationship of the world's several macrofamilies (phyla).

However, some observations of phonological nature certainly can be done. They concern primarily the system of stops, where the correspondences are as follows:

Nostratic	Sino-Caucasian		
*p-, -p-/-p'-	*b-,-p'- 1)		
*p'	*p		
*b	*b		
*t	*tw, *t'w		
*t'	*t, *t', *dw		
*d	*d		
*k	*kw, *k'w, *qw, *q'w		
*k'	*k, *k', *q, *q', *gw		
*g	*g, *9 ²⁾		

Notes:

- 1) The distinction between intervocalic *-p- and *-p'- in Nostratic is rather vague, and in many cases we are not able to draw it. On the other hand, word-initial *p' is extremely rare in Sino-Caucasian. Therefore I thought it possible to unite the correspondence rows PN *p : SC *b- and PN *-p-/-p'-: SC *-p'-.
- 2) There are three cases when SC *g(w) or *9(w) correspond to PN *k (48, 51, 52): in all of these cases there appears a postvocalic -i-.

The above correspondences are hard to explain if we presume that PN glottalized consonants were really glottalized. However, if we keep in mind that the reconstruction of PN glottalized (as well as uvular) stops is based only on Kartvelian evidence, and suppose that the Kartvelian glottalization may have substituted (probably under a substratum influence) some other earlier laryngeal feature, things become much easier. All of the above correspondences can be explained by assuming that:

- a) in the dental and velar series original glottalized (non-labialized) stops were preserved in SC but merged with plain stops in PN, yielding probably aspirates (in fact, reflexes of these consonants are aspirated in Indo-European and Altaic; the Kartvelian shift of aspirated to glottalized stops, as already mentioned, must be due to substratum).
- b) the additional feature of labialization vanished in PN, but conditioned a specific shift of laryngeal features: original aspirated labialized stops (going back to voiceless and glottalized labialized stops) must have lost their aspiration and became PN *t, *k (reflexes of these consonants are unaspirated in Indo-European and Altaic); while original voiced labialized stops must have inversely acquired aspiration and merged with voiceless aspirated stops.
- c) labial stops could not have been labialized, and therefore in this series we observe straightforward correspondences (SC *b = PN *b, SC *p = PN *p' [= *ph]). However, original labial glottalized consonants did not merge with plain voiceless stops in Nostratic, being reflected as a combination *pw (i.e. resulting in PN voiceless *p).

Thus the external evidence seems to indicate that consonants traditionally reconstructed in Nostratic as glottalized (emphatic) had, in fact, been voiceless aspirates — and this also may better explain some of their reflexes in Nostratic daughter languages.

Another observation can be made concerning the fate of lateral consonants in Nostratic. In most cases the Sino-Caucasian laterals correspond to Nostratic *1 (or *1 + velar in the intervocalic position, see examples 40, 45, 96, 100, 103, 106, 108, 120, 138, 142, 200, 202, 204; this *1 gets lost after a preceding *-r-, cf. examples 114, 122). However, if a liquid *1 follows a lateral affricate, the latter by dissimilation becomes a stop:

- a) a dental stop if the original lateral had no labialization (cf. examples 191, 197), and
- b) a velar stop if the original lateral was labialized (cf. examples 60, 86, 199).

Of course, this is only a beginning: there are still many gaps both in the Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian reconstructions, and the data of other macrofamilies are yet to be investigated. No correspondences are as yet available for the complicated systems of Nostratic and Sino-Caucasian affricates, spirants and postvelar consonants, as well as for vowels. Still I think that the existing evidence is already enough for assuming a distant genetic relationship between the two macrofamilies of the Old World.

LEXICAL PARALLELS BETWEEN NOSTRATIC AND SINO-CAUCASIAN

- 1. PN *balk'a 'shine, gleam' (OS 5); ST *P5k 'white'.
- PN *bongä *(~ *p'-) 'thick, swell' (OS 17): SC *pVnKV 'swell' (ST *phōŋ/*phuŋ 'swell, blow up', PY *pɨ²ŋ 'swell, swelling')
- 3. PN *bora 'grayish-brown' (OS 18): NC *bHūrV id.
- 4. PN *bulV 'to mix, stir up' (OS 20); ST *pual
- 5. PN *bayV 'much, enough' (OS 28: PA *bājV 'rich, plentiful' should be added): SC *bVHV 'big, many' (ST *pā 'big, great', PY *bəj- 'many', NC > WC *bHV 'thick, big').
- 6. PN *bara 'big, good' (OS 7): ST *p(h)Vr 'big, great, increased'
- 7. PN *biĆa 'small' (OS 11) : NC *bi(n)c'V id.
- PN *calu 'split, cut' (also 'mow') (OS 33): SC *cVłHV 'mow, reap' (NC *?o-cV/I/- 'mow', *cōłV 'scythe', ST *chāH (~ *chāH) 'reap').
- 9. PN *cujḥa 'thorn' (OS 34): ST *cūH id.
- 10. PN *c'ājḥa 'shine, shimmer' (OS 37): SC *c'AjV 'shine, light; fire' (ST *ziāj 'shine, light', NC *c'ajɨ 'fire; glitter').
- 11. PN *curV/*corV 'drip, ooze' (OS 35): SC *3wVrV (~ *sdw-) 'strain, pour' (ST */ch/ōr, NC *?i-3w\rangler-).
- 12. PN *ćap'a 'beat, chop' (OS 41): ST */č/Vp 'break, tear up'.
- 13. PN */caj/rV 'pale, white, yellow' (MS 363; roots with the meaning 'moon' should be kept apart, see below): SC *c'ArV (~ *st'-) id. (ST *s∇r /~ *ch-?/ 'yellow, gold'; NC *H-c'ar∇ 'gray, pale'.
- 14. PN *ćarV (~ *ć'-) 'rind, crust' (OS 47): SC *štArV id. (PY *tər-ap, NC *čHērV).

- 15. PN *ć'abV (MS 344) 'clay, glue': SC *č'ebV 'clay, model' (ST *Ćap 'to stick, adhere', NC *č'ebV 'clay, model').
- PN */č/ämV 'astringent, sour' (OS 54, MS 368 [with irregular correspondences between PIE and PU]): SC *c'wE/m/HV 'salt' (ST *čum (~ c-), NC *c'wenHV).
- 17. PN *č'ik'V 'cut' (OS 55): SC *č'wVk'(w)V 'a cutting tool' (ST */3h/ākw 'chisel', PY *čok 'axe', NC *č'wk'wV 'knife').
- PN *č'V^ςmV 'eat' (OS 57: only Kartvelian): SC *č'wVmV 'chew, hold in mouth' (ST *žhī(a)m (~ -ē-), NC *He-č'wVm-).
- PN *č'alHa (~ č-) 'spread out, broad, plain': SC *3VlHV id (ST *čel (~ 1) 'spread out', NC *32lHV 'plain').
- 20. PN *č'ok'V (~č-) 'big, many' (MS 331): SC *č'VqwV id (ST *čok 'enough, plenty', (?) PY *suK- 'thick', NC *(HV)-č'əqwV 'big'). We should expect *-k- in PN: -k'- is probably due to assimilation.
- 21. PN *dikV 'earth, clay' (OS 69): SC *dVQV 'clay' (ST */t/iak, PY *təq-).
- 22. PN *ga(HV) 'take, obtain' (OS 77) : SC *(a)9V 'take, hold' PY *-aq-, NC * ^{7}a -9V-).
- 23. PN gandu 'male' (OS 79): SC *KenTwV 'man, male' (PY *ke²t 'man'. NC *kwVn(V)t'V '(young) man, male'). Due to dis- or assimilations it is hard to reconstruct precise laryngeal features for SC.
- 24. PN *gUjra 'antelope, deer' (OS 90, 93: 90 and 93 are probably one and the same root): SC *xgVjV 'deer' (ST *ghij '(barking) deer', PY */q/Vja 'deer').
- 25. PN *gupA 'to bend, bow' (OS 92): ST *g(h)up id.
- 26. PN *yark'u (*yak'ru?) 'bend' (OS 97): SC *-gwVrV id. (ST *kuar, NC *?i-gwVr-).
- 27. PN *yuru 'flow, flood' (OS 98): SC *HwVrHV 'flow; pool, water body' (ST *Hor 'flow, soak'; NC *2wirHi 'water pool').
- 28. PN *yVmV 'darkness, night' (OS 99: only Kartvelian): SC *xVmHV 'dark, evening' (ST *yVm 'dark, shadow', PL *x̄lam̄ 'evening, darkness').

- 29. PN *Hanga 'open (the mouth), opening' (OS 105): SC *HamgV 'hole, opening' (ST *khāH 'opening', PY: Ket., ag-di 'mouth cavity', NC *hāmgV 'hole, window').
- PN *Henka (~ Hekna) 'to burn (OS 106): SC *-xAnV 'to warm up' (ST *kan 'roast, fry', PY *(h)əqan- 'boil', NC *He-xVn- 'warm up').
- PN *H/E/mi 'suck, swallow' (OS 109): ST *?Vm 'drink, suck, hold in mouth'.
- 32. PN *Hok'i 'sharp edge' (OS 113): SC *-xk'V 'sharp, sharpen' (PY: Ket. i:- 'to sharpen', NC *?V-k'V 'sharp(en)').
- PN *Homsa 'meat' (OS 114): SC *jVmcV 'ox; meat' (ST *chu (~-o) 'a kind of ox', PY *?ise 'meat', NC *jəmco 'ox').
- 34. PN *Ho(k)sV 'ash-tree' (OS 117): PY *?oksi 'tree'.
- 35. PN *Huk'a 'eye, see' (OS 118): SC *-gwV 'see' (? ST *kwē-n (~ *gw-) 'look' can be related here if the -n is a suffix: NC *'agwV 'see').
- 36. PN *Huwa 'flood, stream' (OS 119; cf. also IE: Hitt. heu- 'rain'): SC *-ywV 'rain, to rain' (ST *(r)-qhwaH, PY *xu-r, NC *?V-ywV).
- 37. PN *²anxV 'breathe' (OS 125: perhaps it would be better to add PA *²inV 'live, life' and reconstruct PN *HinxV): SC *HwEnHV 'blood; breath, soul' (ST *(s)-ywij 'blood; breath': NC *hwenHV 'blood'). The semantic shift 'blood ↔ soul, breath' is fairly common.
- 38. PN *?aSa 'fire, be hot' (OS 127); SC *-cV 'burn, heat (ST *ca/*cha 'hot, heat', NC *'e-cV 'hot, heat, roast').
- PN *Ha 'be, become' (OS 102): SC *?a(HV) id. (ST *?a, NC *?a(hHV)-).
- 40. PN: 'e1A 'live (OS 131): SC: -λV 'be; stay' (ST *λV 'stay', NC *'ē-λV 'be, become').
- PN *?esA 'be, settle down' (OS 132): SC *-swV 'sit' (PY *-VsV, NC *?o-swV).
- 42. PN *?iIV 'deer': ST *la 'musk-deer'.

- 43. PN *'Ek'u 'water, drink' (OS 139: Pa *āk- 'flow' should be added): SC *-qV 'fluid, drink' (ST *Ku 'fluid, to spill': PY: Ar. -ag- 'drink': NC *?V-qV 'drink').
- 44. PN *jela 'bright' *(OS 148) : ST *liaj (~ \(\frac{1}{2}\)-) 'gleam, glitter'.
- 45. PN *k'aĺV 'peel; bark, skin' (OS 156: initial k'- because of PA *k'aĺi-; forms with the meaning 'naked' should be kept apart): NC *qa¾V 'bark, skin'.
- 46. PN *kanpV 'soft excrescence (mushroom; lip)' (OS 158): SC *k'wVm(P)V 'lip (ST *k(h)am; NC *k'wēm(p')-t'ī).
- PN *karV/*kurV 'crane' (OS 159): SC *q'(w)Vrq'wV id. (OC *g(h)ākw, NC *q'(w)orq'wə).
- 48. PN *käjwV 'chew' (OS 160) : SC *x9VjV 'bite' (ST *k(h)aj, NC *?V-9V-).
- 49. PN *kENV 'know' (OS 163): ST *gen 'see, know'.
- 50. PN *kirHV 'old' (OS 165) : ST *Kri 'old'.
- 51. PN *koja moth, grub, worm (OS 167): SC *gwVjV worm (ST *ghwə (~ khwə), PY *kVi).
- 52. PN *kojHa 'fat; healthy, alive' (OS 168) : SC *9wVjV 'thick' (PY: Ket. $q\bar{o}j$, NC * ^{2}V -9wV-).
- 53. PN *kojw/a/ 'birch' (OS 170): PY *xi²w- 'birch bark'.
- 54. PN *koλV 'peel, bark' (OS 171; *kol-YV in Dolg. Soch. 363): SC *q'w AłHV 'bark, skin' (ST *qhrōw (~ kh-), PY: Ket. qōĺ 'dandruff', NC *q'wałHV 'bark').
- 55. PN *kOŕi 'lamb, sheep' (OS 174): SC *k'wAr-NV 'young (of animals), shoot (of plants)' (ST *krun (~ q-) 'be born; shoot (of a plant)'; NC *k'warnV 'young (of animals)'.
- 56. PN *kujñA 'knee/elbow' (OS 175): SC *HgVNV 'knee, leg' (ST *Kon 'thigh, leg', NC *HgenV 'knee, leg').
- 57. PN *külä 'lake' (OS 177) : SC *k'(w)AlHV 'lake, river' (ST *klū-ŋ 'river', PY *xɔ²l (~ q-,-r) 'bay, creek', NC *k'(w)alHV 'lake').
- 58. PN *kä/IH/V 'to step, ford' (OS 161) : SC *gA+HV 'step; ford' (ST *9hāl (~ qh-, kh-, gh-) 'ford'; NC *ga+HV 'step').

- 59. PN *kurV 'swallow, throat' (OS 91: *k- because of IE *gw-): SC *k'wVrV 'throat, crop' (ST *khrōw (~gh-), PY *gər-V3 (~k-), NC *k'wirV (~-\frac{1}{2}-)).
- 60. PN *küni 'wife, woman' (OS 178): SC *qwEnV 'woman' (PY *qVm-(~ x-), NC *q(w)änV).
- 61. PN *kU±V 'snake, worm' (OS 179): SC *(wHVr)-\(\frac{\pma}{\pmu}\)V±V 'snake, worm; leech' (ST *p-r\(\bar{u}\)l 'snake', PY *(h)ur_1ol 'leech', NC *wHVr-\(\frac{\pma}{\pmu}\)W±V 'snake, worm').
- 62. PN *komt'V 'lid (of a receptacle)' (MS 356): SC *gVmtV 'a cover, pillow' (ST *g(h)um, PY *xot- (~ q-), NC *gVmtV).
- 63. PN *kun-če 'nail, peg' (Dolg. Met. 263; -če is probably a suffix as in *pArÄ, *pAr-čV 'finger, nail', q.v.): SC *xq'winV id. (PY *(x)īne 'nail, claw', NC *Hq'winā 'nail, peg').
- 64. PN *KümTä 'fog, mist' (OS 187): SC *k'wVmHV id. (also metathesized *mHVk'wV: ST *mūk 'fog', PY: Yug. xoaŋ 'fog', NC *k'wɨmHV / *mHɨk'wV 'cloud, rain').
- 65. PN *Küt'v 'bind, tie' (OS 188): SC *k'wEtV 'tie, bind; reel' (ST *kwāt (~ gw-) 'tie, bind' here rather than to NC *q'wHart'V
 4V 'belt' as in Gip. 32; NC *k'wetV 'reel').
- 66. PN *k'aćV 'man, young man' (OS 191): WC *qac'a 'man'.
- 67. PN *k'adV 'interweave (twigs), build' (OS 192): SC *q'VmdV 'fence, wall' (ST *Kat 'fence; room', NC q'ēmdə 'wall').
- 68. PN *k'aλa 'leave, stay' (OS 194; *k'al-γa in Dolg. Soch. 358): NC *^γi-lgwVn- (~ *^γi-gwVl-) 'stay'.
- 69. PN *k'ap'V 'vessel, pot; scull' (OS 195): SC *qAp'V 'vessel' (OC *khāp, PY *qä(²)p (~ -b) 'boat', NC *qāp'ā 'vessel; boat')
- 70. PN *k'äćä 'cut' (OS 196) : SC *q'ac'V 'cut, divide' (ST *qāt 'cut, divide', NC *q'ac'i 'piece, part').
- 71. PN *k'ärV 'bind (tightly)' (OS 197): SC *-qVrV 'plait, weave' (ST [with metathesis] *rāk 'plait, weave', NC *?V-qVr-'weave').
- 72. PN *k'ErdV 'heart, breast) (OS 200): NC *kîrV 'breast; belly'.
- 73. PN *k'olV 'round, roll' (OS 202): SC *gwVl(g)V id. (ST *kw(r)el 'roll, wind', NC *gwēlgV 'round').

- 74. PN *k'u\(\alpha\) 'secret, steal' (OS 204; *k'ul/-\(\gamma\)/ V in Dolg. Soch. 364): SC *-gwVIV 'hide, steal' (ST *kol (~ q-, -j) 'hide', NC *\(^2\)i-gwVI- 'loose, steal').
- 75. PN *k'Ut'V 'small' (OS 205) : NC *kot'V 'short'.
- 76. PN *k'ajwV 'dig' (OS 209) : SC *-xqVwV id. (ST *gəw, PY *?uk-(~-g-), NC *H<u>V</u>-qwV-).
- 77. PN *k'aLi 'rise, high' (OS 210): NC *?ə-lqV (?ə-qV1V) id.
- 78. PN *k'ap'a 'cover, close' (OS 212): ST *9āp, 'cover'.
- 79. PN *k'ar/ä/ 'black, dark' (OS 213): NC *k'ərV 'black, coal'.
- PN *k'arV 'rock' (OS 216): SC *9wVrV 'stone' (ST *Kor, NC *9wērV).
- 81. PN *k'ara 'bark' (OS 217): NC *k'arī 'bark, shell'.
- 82. PN *k'awingV 'armpit' (OS 220): ST *qhōŋ 'hole, gap'.
- 83. PN *k'ä/IH/ä 'tongue, speak' (OS 221): NC *?V-gwVI- 'speak'.
- 84. PN *k'äp'ä 'paw, hoof' (OS 222): SC *xwHabV 'paw, leg' (ST *k(h)ap 'crotch', PY: Ket. qop-ku 'calf (of leg)', NC *xwHabV 'paw').
- PN *k'EñU 'empty, light' (OS 226): ST *khian (~ gh-) 'light, thin'.
- 86. PN *kErV 'horn' (OS 227; *k- rather than *k'- because of PK *kr-): SC *qwVrHV 'horn' (ST *Kruā (-ŋ, -k), PY *xɔ², NC *qwā(r)HV).
- 87. PN *k'urV 'plait, weave, knit' (OS 236): NC *[?]i-mxwVr- 'knit, weave, spin'.
- 88. PN *k'ujnA 'wolf, dog' (OS 238) : SC *xwEjV 'dog' (ST *qhwīj, NC *xwe(H)iV).
- 89. PN *k'ülä 'kin, community' (OS 239) : SC *(H)λ'<u>i</u>wV!V 'root; kin, tribe' (ST *t-rua! 'village, kin', NC *Hλ'<u>i</u>wi!V 'root; kin').
- 90. PN *k'üp'ä 'boil, foam' (OS 240): PY *xopVr 'foam'
- 91. PN *k'UmV 'swallow, devour' (OS 242): SC *q'VmV (~ *9-) 'eat, hold in mouth' (ST *Kuam 'hold in mouth', NC *?<u>V</u>-q'Vm-[-9-] 'eat')
- 92. PN *k'U/p/a 'heap (OS 243): NC *gwāp'V 'group, heap'.
- 93. PN *kama (~ k'-) 'husk, shell' (MS 372): SC *kOnm V 'skin, husk' (ST *kuam 'husk, shell', NC *konmo 'skin).

- 94. PN *k'uIV 'fall' (OS 235): ST *klaH 'fall'.
- PN *kopV 'bark, rind' (MS 344): ST *q(r)uap 'rind, shell, scale'.
- 96. PN *k'iwIV (~ -lw-) 'hear, ear' (OS, p.18, MS 366) : NC *'i-lkV (~ *'i-kVI-) 'hear'.
- 97. PN *ko(H)IV 'kill, die' (MS 370; *k- on the basis of PIE *gw- [q'- in PK *q'wil- is highly irregular]): SC *-lqwV (<*qwVIV) 'die, kill' (PY *qo- 'die', *-VqV- 'kill'; (PY *qo- 'die', *-VqV- 'kill'; NC *?i-lqwV 'die', *?i-lqwV 'kill').
- 98. PN *lak'V 'lick' (OS 247): ST *\(\frac{1}{2}\)iak 'tongue, lick'.
- 99. PN *lulV 'sleep' (MS 367; only Kartvelian with AA parallels): NC *[?]lē^{*}⁄_{*}a 'night'.
- 100. PN *luńge (*luŋe) 'snow' (OS 354): NC *Hλ'winī 'winter'.
- 101. PN *lama 'soften, knead' (OS 254): ST *luam 'mild, soft'.
- 102. PN *4/a/k'a 'leg' (OS 255): SC *4EkV 'leg' (ST *1Vŋ 'leg, thigh, bone', NC *4<u>ä</u>kā 'leg, bone').
- 103. PN *4ap'a 'flat' (OS 256; Altaic forms with the meaning 'leaf' should be kept apart, see below): SC *λ'Ap'V 'flat' (ST *1ēp 'flat, plate, slab', NC *λ'ap'V [~ -e-, -i-] id.).
- 104. PN *lejna 'soft, weak' (OS 258): ST *nel id.'
- 105. PN *liwa 'mud, silt' (OS 259): ST *lej 'mud, slime'.
- 106. PN *LaHm/u/ 'marsh, silt, wet' (OS 263): SC *\approx wHEmV 'wet, liquid' (ST *li(a)m (~\approx \approx-), NC *\approx wHemV).
- 107. PN *#ap'V 'to cover' (MS 356); ST *lup id.
- 108. PN *lokV 'count, collect' (MS 366): SC *-1Vk'wV 'recite, read' (ST *lōk 'read, tell', NC *?i-lk'wV(n)- 'read, write').
- 109. PN *Lam-d/i/ 'low, lowland' (OS 264): SC *λaηV (ST *lan 'lower, down', NC *λanā 'lower part, bottom').
- 110. PN *L/a/t'V- 'wet, soak' (OS 265): NC *?V-t'V1- (~ *?V-lt'V-) 'to drip, soak'.
- 111. PN *L/ä/jV 'water, pour (OS 267) : ST lāj 'pour, flow'.
- 112. PN *lajp'V 'leaf' (this root is to be strictly kept apart from PN *lap'a 'flat' and *Lop'V 'to peel'): SC *λ'ApE 'leaf' (ST *λēp (/ *lap), PY *jāpe, NC *λ'api)

- 113. PN *Lop'V 'peel, peeled bark (OS 268): ST *lep (~ λ'-) 'to peel, to slice'.
- 114. PN *majrV 'young male' (OS 277): NC *mīr\(\chi\)V 'male, man'.
- 115. PN *manV 'stay, stand still' (OS 287) : NC * 7 i-ma(n)- 'stay, be' (PL * 7 i-ma-, HU *mann-).
- 116. PN *m/o/nV, *m/o/ngV 'many, big' (MS 348, OS 280): ST *māŋ 'many, big'.
- 117. PN *manu 'think' (OS 281): SC *nVmHV id. (ST * \acute{n} Vm 'think', PY * $^{?}a$ - $n/\frac{1}{2}/n$ 'think, mind').
- 118. PN *marja 'berry' (OS 282): NC *merHV id.
- 119. PN *mALV 'mountain' (OS 286): SC *mUHAIV 'mountain, hill' (ST: KC *mual; NC *mu^salV).
- 120. PN *mälgi 'breast, milk' (OS 291); NC *nheλ'V 'milk'.
- 121. PN *mänV 'man, male' (OS 292) : SC *mVn-xV id. (ST *nām 'man, person', PY *pix- 'man', NC *mVnxV 'man, male').
- 122. PN *märä 'moisture, liquid' (OS 294): SC *mar\u00e4wV 'rain, cloud' (PY *pVr 'cloud', NC *mar\u00e4wV 'rain').
- 123. PN *merV 'fat, smear' (OS 296) : ST *mar 'fat'.
- 124. PN *mEwV 'water, moisture' (only IE; Altaic forms should be kept apart. See OS 298): SC *HmEHwV id. (ST *moj, NC *hmēhwā 'moisture, liquid, pool').
- 125. PN *mińä 'woman, female relative' (OS 301): ST *nam 'sister-in-law, daughter-in-law'.
- 126. PN *moLV 'break, crush' (OS 302): ST *mial id.
- 127. PN *murV 'crush, pound, break' (OS 310): ST *muar 'bite, gnaw'.
- 128. PN *mVt'V 'worm' (OS 312): NC *bet'V (? *bemt'V) 'worm'.
- 129. PN *mVnźV 'luminary' (OS 313: only Kartvelian *mz₁e 'sun' is listed (together with AA forms), although it seems highly probable that PIE *mēn(ə)s- 'moon' also belongs here): SC *wVmc'V 'moon' (OC *nwat, PY *?Vsuj, NC *wemc'o).
- 130. PN *nojmV 'name' (OS 317; Altaic *niomV- 'name; spell, tale' should be added): ST *main 'name'.
- 131. PN *ńam V 'grab, take' (OS 319) : ST *n √m id.
- 132. PN *ńämV 'soft' (OS 195): ST *nēm id.

- 133. PN *ńä/wH/ä 'hair' (OS 322): ST *nVj id.
- 134. PN *ńila 'wet, slippery' (OS 325; cf. also *ńo/H/LV 'slime' in MS 365); ST *nēl (~ ń-) 'mud, slime'.
- 135. PN *nika 'neck, back of head, vertebra' (OS 330; *-k- and not *-k'- on the basis of both Uralic and Altaic reflexes): SC *nVqwV 'back' (ST *nuk /-ŋ 'back, spinal vertebra', NC *naqwV 'back, behind').
- 136. PN *purčV/*pülčV 'flea' (OS 338, with several irregularities): NC *bēlžwi 'gadfly, wasp'.
- 137. PN *mVnV 'miss; be vain, false' (OS 357): ST *mon 'dull, blinded, confused'.
- 138. PN *paly V 'a fortified dwelling' (OS 368; *p- on the basis of Altaic forms): SC *b<u>U</u>lλ'V 'house, home' (ST */p/ūk, NC *b<u>u</u>lλ'V).
- 139. PN */Pa/se 'membrum virile' (OS 371; according to Mudrak, the Eskaleut reflex of this root speaks in favor of *p-): SC *bVc'V (PY *bi²s 'penis', PL *p̄ic' 'Schamteile').
- 140. PN *palkV 'foot' (OS 361; *-q- in PK is probably secondary):

 SC *bol(V)k'wV 'leg, leg bone' (ST *phol 'ankle, calf (of leg)'; PY

 *bul 'foot, leg', NC *bolVk'wo [this comparison seems more likely than that in Gip. 28])
- 141. PN *pArä, *pAr/č/V 'nail, claw, finger' (OS 362): SC *bArV (~ *p-) 'claws, paw, cupped hand' (ST *Par, PY *pər).
- 142. PN *pälgi 'belly, intestines' (reconstructed on the basis of PA *pāl(V)gi 'belly, intestines' and PIE *bhelgh-): SC *bHEλ'V 'intestines' (ST *Pik, PY *pɨ²ɨί, NC *bheλ'V).
- 143. PN *p'ar/a/ 'split, break' (OS 339): ST *phraj 'split, divide'.
- 144. PN *p'ivwV 'fire, heat' (MS 352): SC *-pVHV (~ b-) 'heat, burn' (ST *pū (~ b(h)-) 'burn, roast, boil', PY *(²a)pV- 'heat, hot').
- 145. PN *p'erV 'bear, produce' (MS 361): ST *p(h)ria-n id.
- 146. PN *p'unčE '(body) hair' (OS 365): NC *pen/c'/V 'eyebrows, evelashes'.
- 147. PN *p'AtV 'vessel, receptacle' (MS 366): SC *pAt'wV id. (ST *PUt 'a big basket', NC *pat'V 'vessel').

- 148. PN *p'ulV 'aspen, poplar' (MS 369): SC *pHV4V id. (PY *(h)4pV1 'aspen', NC *pHi4V 'aspen, poplar').
- 149. PN *p'ut'V 'hole, vulva' (MS 340) : SC *pVt'V id. (ST : LB *pytx, NC *pət'i).
- 150. PN *p'ojV 'child' (MS 360) : SC *pUjV (ST *Poj 'be born, child', PY *pu'- 'child', WC *pV 'son, daughter').
- 151. PN *Pe(n)č'V 'pine-tree' (Terentiev 1979:160): SC */p/inst'wV 'resin' (PY *pi²t 'glue', NC */p/inc'wV 'resin').
- 152. PN *p'arV 'fly' (MS 346): SC *pUrV id. (ST *phur (/*bh-), NC *purV).
- 153. PN *p'uyV 'blow' (MS 339): SC *pOHwV id. (ST *bhu(H), PY *-pV, NC *pohwV).
- 154. PN *p'enV 'bitch, female' (MS 366): SC *pEnHV (~ *b-) 'female' (ST *p(h)ij 'female', *p(h)in 'woman', PY *päŋ 'female').
- 155. PN *p'ar(H)V 'bee' (MS 358): SC *pVrV id. (ST *P/r/aH 'bee', NC *porV 'bee; butterfly').
- 156. PN *p'a/rj/V 'spread, scatter' (MS 369): ST *phra id.
- 157. PN *p'äk'V 'hot, heat' (MS 337): SC *PVgwV id. (OC *bhākw 'expose to the sun', PY *bo'k 'fire').
- 158. PN *p'e/H/jV 'sickness, sore' (MS 331): ST *PijH 'scab, head sickness'.
- 159. PN *p'alV 'many; full (MS 348): ST *p-lai-n 'full'.
- 160. PN *rućV (~ -ć'-) 'destroy, tear, break' (MS 358): SC *rVč'wV id. (ST *r/a/t, NC *?a-rč'wV-).
- 161. PN *rV(h)bV 'emotion, agitation' (MS 334; only IE with AA parallels): ST *rap 'afraid, frighten'.
- 162. PN *rowV 'dig, gouge, chop' (MS 362): ST *row 'dig'.
- 163. PN *Sa(w)k'U 'sap, resin' (MS 366): SC *śwVnq'V 'ink, dyestuff' (ST *smāk (/-ŋ) 'ink', PY *suK 'dye, paint', NC *śwänq'i 'ink, gum').
- 164. PN *sVwV 'liquid, drink' (MS 341): SC *-sdwV 'drink' (PY *ut-, NC *?\(\under \)-3wV-).
- 165. PN *sun(g)V 'smell' (MS 342) : SC *sunV id. (ST *sun, NC *sunV, *sun-t'V).

- 166. PN *säjV 'bile, pus' (MS 336): ST *chij 'thick liquid'.
- 167. PN *salV 'willow' (MS 343; it would be better to reconstruct *ča(w)IV on the basis of PA *čual/i/ 'willow, branch'): NC *č'wHeli 'willow'.
- 168. PN *śuλV 'glowing coals' (MS 370; *ʒulȳV in Dolg. Soch. 361): ST *s-yūl id.
- 169. PN *sVxV /*?VsxV 'blood' (MS 345, PIE-PK; one should probably add PA *sagV 'blood; health'): SC *sVHwV 'soul, breath' (ST *suā 'breathe, live', PY *du²(x) 'smoke', NC *si?wV 'soul, breath').
- 170. PN *šarV 'flow, stream, lake' (MS 369): SC *šOrV id. (ST *šur 'flow, pour', NC *šorV 'lake, river').
- 171. PN *š/E/wV 'bear, produce' (MS 361): SC *š(V)wV 'bear; son, offspring' (ST *šū 'grandchild, descendant', NC *-½šwV 'bear; son, daughter').
- 172. PN *šingV 'snow' (MS 366): ST *šəŋ 'hoar-frost, cold'.
- 173. PN *ŠVλmV 'heart' (MS 364) : SC *SiMV id. (ST *siam, PY *sin(V)b-).
- 174. PN */ś/ajrV 'nit, louse' (MS 336): SC *šErV 'louse; worm, helminth' (ST *šar 'louse', NC *š/i/rV 'worm, helminth'). There exists also a variant with a suffixed velar both in Nostratic (cf. PA *sir-kä, PU *śa(j)r-kV) and Sino-Caucasian (cf. ST *šrik, NC *šir-kV).
- 175. PN *täkV 'touch' (MS 369): ST *t(h)ok id.
- 176. PN *tel(h)V 'long, stretch' (MS 339): ST *dhel 'spread, stretch'.
- 177. PN *ter(H)V 'tear' (MS 360): NC *7V-t'wVr-id.
- 178. PN *talV 'shake' (MS 369): ST *tol id.
- 179. PN *to/H/V 'give' (MS 338) : NC * $^{7}V-t(w)V-id$.
- 180. PN *tu⁷V 'two' (MS 338): SC *(t')q'wE id. (PNC *(t')q'wE. In ST and PY the original root obtained a nasal suffix and lost the dental element of the initial cluster: ST *k-nij(s), PY *xi-na).
- 181. PN *t'anV, *t'angV 'stretch, extend' (MS 370): ST *tan (~ d-) id.
- 182. PN *t'anV 'chop, cut off' (MS 352): ST *tan id.
- 183. PN *t'ar V 'bald' (MS 347) : ST *ter (~ d-) 'bald, bare'.

- 184. PN *t'ap'h/a/ 'beat' (OS 349): ST *dhVp id.
- 185. PN *t'ajV 'louse' (MS 335): NC *t'ah-nā 'nit'.
- 186. PN *t'apV 'warm, heat' (MS 338): ST *tap 'fire-place, stove'.
- 187. PN *t'umV 'dark' (MS 368) ; SC *dwVmV 'dark, black' (ST *t∇m 'dark', PY *tum- 'black').
- 188. PN *t'unKV 'lower part of trunk, stump' (MS 344): SC *dwV(n)q'V 'trunk, beam, piece of timber' (ST *tūŋ (~ d-); NC *dwiq'∇).
- 189. PN *t'urV 'swift, hurry' (MS 332): SC *t'UrV 'run, hurry' (ST *t(h)ur, NC *?V-t'Vr-).
- 190. PN *t'/o/gV 'fire' (MS 337 : PT *toga PU *tä/y/V(t) 'fire'; PIE *dhegwh- 'burn' should rather be compared with PA *dakV- 'burn') : SC *tVKwV 'burn, glow, kindle' (ST */dh/ekw id., PY *dVk- [~-g-] 'light, candle').
- 191. PN *t'Vk'U 'flow, pour' (MS 347) : SC *t'HEk'V 'drop, drip' (ST *tēk (~ d-), NC *t'Hänk'V ~ *t'Häk'V-nV 'drop').
- 192. PN *t'Vk'V 'plait, weave' (MS 354): ST *tak 'weave'.
- 193. PN *t'VrpV 'be satiated' (Sootv. 317): SC *tV(r)p'V (-b-) 'eat, taste' (ST *thVp, PY *dVbV).
- 194. PN *t'ap'V 'hit (an aim), pass; guess' (MS 356): SC *dwVp'V (~ -b-) (ST *tuap 'pass, fit; answer'; PY *-tVb- 'ask').
- 195. PN *t'al/H/V 'flat, level' (MS 355) : ST *thā+ (~ *d-) id.
- 196. PN */t'/ajlV 'stone' (MS 343): NC * λ 'a $\frac{1}{4}$ V 'stone, rock'.
- 197. PN *t'älV 'young (of animals)' (MS 359): NC *λ'äthə 'lamb'.
- 198. PN *TuHIV 'net, catch with a net': ST *t(h)ol (~-4) 'net'.
- 199. PN *gülV 'house, dwelling' (MS 341) : SC *XwV‡V 'hedge, fence' (ST *ral. NC *Xwa‡V).
- 200. PN *1/a/pV 'lick' (MS 347; only PIE with AA parallels) : SC *λ'VpV (~ -b-) 'tongue' (ST *λep; PY *²alVp; Hatt. alip).
- 201. PN *warV 'burn' (MS 341): ST *war id.
- 202. PN *welV 'kill, die' (MS 367: SC *(wV) λ 'V- id. (OC * λ ij 'corpse'. NC * $^{?}$ i-w λ 'V- 'kill, die').
- 203. PN *wetV 'water' (MS 334): SC *-t'wV 'water, pour' (ST *tuj 'water', NC *?V-t'wV 'be wet, soak, pour').
- 204. PN *witV 'wet, soak' (MS 333): SC *-\timeswV 'flow; drink' (ST *luj 'flow, water': NC *?V-\timeswV 'drink').

- 205. PN *wojV 'swim' (MS 355): ST *jaw/*waw 'float, swim'.
- 206. PN *xant'V 'front' (MS 354): SC *HendwV 'forehead' (ST [with metathesis] *thiīn, NC *?endū).
- 207. PN *xot'i 'burn, fire' (OS 343): PY *xot- id.
- 208. PN *sVnV (~ š-) 'year; old' (MS 337; *3UnE in Dolg. Affr. 167):
 SC *swEnV id. (ST *s-nī-ŋ id., PY *sin- 'old', *sɨ(n)-9a 'year', NC
 *swän(H)ɨ 'year').
- 209. PN *zevV 'eat' (MS 340): SC *zVHV (~ *c'-) 'eat, drink' (ST *3haH 'eat', PY *si9- id. NC *3aHV (~ *c'-) 'drink').
- 210. PN *zalV 'conceal; cunning, treacherous' (MS 368): SC *žV\u00e4V (~ *ć'-) 'bad, mischief' (ST *cua\u00e4 (~ *č-) 'to plan mischief', PY *sel- (~ -r-) 'bad').
- 211. PN *3AhrV 'moon' (Dolg. Affr. 165; PIE *(Ha)ster- 'star' probably should be added): SC *3wArHV 'star' (OC *sēŋ, NC *3wHar'i).
- 212. PN *ziNV 'night, spend a night' (Dolg. Affr. 167): SC *HćwInV 'night' (ST *chen (~ s-) 'night, darkness', PY *si(n)-9 'night', NC *HćwinV (/*HnićwV) 'night, dream').
- 213. PN *3ULE 'trunk, tree' (Dolg. Affr. 170) : SC *c'(w)V4V 'tree' (ST *Cəl 'wood, forest', NC *c'ə\forall V 'tree, stick' (or *c'w\text{#hV} id.)

PRONOUNS AND PARTICLES

- 1. PN *mi (*mV) 'I' : SC *nV (ST *nā (*nV), PY *b-, NC *nV(/*mV),
- PN *mä 'prohibitive particle': SC *mV id. (ST *ma, PY *wə-, NC *mV).
- 3. PN *mu 'this, that' : SC *mV id. (PY *wV, NC *mV).
- 4. PN *mi 'what' : SC *mI id. (PY *wi/*we-, NC *mV).
- 5. PN *t'ä 'this, that': SC *tV id. (PY *dV, NC *tV). Cf. also SC *dV 'demonstrative pronoun' (ST *t, *te, PY *t/u/-, NC *dV-⁵V).
- 6. PN *?i/*?e 'this' : SC *?i (ST *?i, NC *?i).
- 7. PN *?a 'that' : SC *?a (ST *?a, NC *?a).
- 8. PN *šä 'a demonstrative pronoun' : SC *šV id. (ST *še, *ši-ŋ, PY: Ket. śī-ŋ śū-ŋ, NC *šV).

- 9. PN *k'a/*k'o 'who' : SC *xV 'who, what' (ST *qhā, NC *x<u>V</u>).
- 10. PN *da 'a locative particle': NC *-dV id.
- 11. PN *?e 'a negative particle': NC *?(w)V id.
- 12. PN *ja 'which, what': SC *jV 'an interrogative particle' (PY: Ket. aj 'what', NC *¡V interrogative particle').
- 13. PN *-iV 'a diminutive suffix': NC *-jV id.
- 14. PN *-i(V) 'a plural particle': NC *-iV id.
- 15. PN *-k'a 'a diminutive suffix': NC *-k'V id.
- 16. PN *k'/o/ 'a postpositive emphatic particle' : NC *k ∇ i id.
- 17. PN *k'V 'a directive particle': SC *-kV id. (PY *-ga, NC *-k♥).
- 18. PN *-1/a/ 'a collective suffix': NC *-1V 'a plural suffix'.
- 19. PN *IA 'a locative paricle': NC *-λ∇ id.
- 20. PN *-nV 'oblique noun-form suffix': SC *-nV id. (PY *-n-, NC *-nV).
- 21. PN *NA 'a demonstrative pronoun': NC *nV 'this, that'.
- 22. PN *-NA 'a plural suffix': SC *-nV id. (ST *-n 'a collective suffix', PY *-n(V), NC *nV).

ABBREVIATIONS

AA -	ΑJ	iro- <i>l</i>	\sia	tic
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HU - Hurri-Urartean

LB - Lolo-Burman

OC Old Chinese NC North Caucasian

PA - Proto-Altaic

PIE - Proto-Indo-European PK - Proto-Kartvelian

PL Proto-Lezghian

PN - Proto-Nostratic PU - Proto-Uralic

PΥ Proto-Yeniseian SC - Sino-Caucasian

ST - Sino-Tibetan

WC - West Caucasian

Dolg. Affr. - Dolgopolsky 1974

Dolg. Met. - Dolgopolsky 1965 Dolg. Soch. - Dolgopolsky 1972

Gip. - Starostin 1984

MS - Illich-Svitych 1967

OS - Illich-Svitych 1971-Sooty.

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GILYAK AND CHUKCHI-KAMCHATKAN AS ALMOSAN-KERESIOUAN LANGUAGES: LEXICAL EVIDENCE

(PRELIMINARY REPORT)

Oleg Mudrak and Sergei Nikolaev

Joseph Greenberg has convincingly demonstrated the existence of a language family which he has named Almosan-Keresiouan. It includes Algic, Salish, Chemacuan, Wakashan, and Kutenai; also Caddoan, Iroquois, Siouan-Yuchi, and Keresan (Greenberg 1987:163-5). In northeast Asia there exist the so-called Paleoasiatic language families and separate languages (Eskimo-Aleut, Chukchi-Kamchatkan, isolated Gilyak and Yukaghir), which are not genetically related; they are connected only by their genetic isolation from all of the world's other languages.

At present we are assuming that Eskimo-Aleut is genetically affiliated with the Nostratic macrofamily (and within this macrofamily, they are most closely affiliated with Altaic; compare Mudrak 1984). Yukaghir, apparently, is also a Nostratic language, and is most closely related to Uralic, forming with it the 'Macro-Uralic' branch (compare, for example Collinder, 1940 and 1957)

On the other hand, attempts to make an external comparison of Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Gilyak (= Nivkh) have so far been unsuccessful. Golovastikov and Dolgopolsky (1972) attempted to prove that Chukchi-Kamchatkan is affiliated with Nostratic, but their results were not convincing, mainly because Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan had not been reconstructed. (A Proto-Chukchian reconstruction was made by Murav'ëva; compare Murav'ëva 1986. The following PCh forms are cited according to her reconstruction, with some modifications introduced by Mudrak). Attempts to compare Chukchi-Kamchatkan and other languages may also be considered to have been unsuccessful.

Thus far, for the languages of North America only typological similarities have been noted (see Bogoraz 1934, p. 7).

For the isolated Gilyak language no cognate languages have been discovered, although various attempts have been made to link Gilyak both with Chukchi-Kamchatkan (Tailleur 1960) and American Indian languages (Sternberg 1904).

In his paper at the conference Linguistic Reconstruction and Prehistory of the East (Moscow 1984) Nikolaev presented a small list of Algonquian-Gilyak lexical similarities. Following Mudrak's reconstruction of Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan, a large number of lexical and morphological parallels have been found between Gilyak and Chukchi-Kamchatkan.

Below we give a partial list of lexical coincidences between Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Gilyak, as well as between Algic and Salish, which represent here the Almosan-Keresiouan group. These similarities convince us that Chukchi-Kamchatkan has a genetic affiliation with Gilyak, as well as with Almosan-Keresiouan. Further, these similarities allow us to include Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Gilyak in this language group. We will give a list of lexical parallels between these two languages in a separate publication.

This report can only be a preliminary one, mostly since there are no reliable reconstructions for Algic and Salish (as well as for some others, including Wakashan and Caddoan). Whether to include Chukchi-Kamchatkan and Gilyak in the Almosan-Keresiouan group can be determined only after having made stepwise reconstructions for the proto-languages of all subgroups. Until such time, regular phonetic correspondences between them cannot be established.

Sources in the paper are as follows: Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan reconstructions are cited according to Mudrak 1989; Kamchadal forms are cited according to Volodin 1976, Gilyak according to Savel'eva & Taksami 1970; Yurok forms according to Robins 1958; Salish as in Dale Kinkade 1981 (Moses-Columbian), Drachman 1969 (Twana), Laurense-Terry Thompson 1971 (Clallam), Kuipers 1967 and 1974 (Squamish, Shuswap, Kalispel, etc.); Proto-Central Algonquian, Proto-Central-Eastern Algonquian, and Proto-Algonquian forms taken from Bl 25, 46; Ge 41; Go 65, 67a, 71; Ha 58, 67a, 67c; He 73; Mc 35b; Sb 41, 67a, 67b; Sl 60; and Vo 41 are cited according to Aubin 1975.

Note: Please pay attention to this significant type of sound correspondence: PChK t, θ : Gil $\check{c}^{(h)}$: AR k (\check{c}): Sal x, k, X, see examples 42, 84, 106, 113, 125, 157.

- ARM, ARMPIT. Gil tɨmk 'arm, hand'. AR: PA *-θenkwē- (Mc 35b.136) 'armpit'.
- 2. BACK. Gil poku 'hump'. AR: PA *ne-xpe@hwani (Sb 41.300) 'my back', *-pexkwanē- (Mc 35b. 157) 'back'.
- 3. BACK, BACKBONE. PCh *θilæqæ 'backbone'. Gil ŋ-iski 'backbone; mountain ridge', čuk 'mountain ridge'. AR: PA *-tatakākw-an-a-k-i (Mc 35b. 152) 'spine'. Salish: Sq s-cəq-ápsm 'back of neck', cq-al-ačn 'lie on one's back', Kal cqal 'lie down on the back'.
- 4. BAD. PChK *kiłXV- 'bad'. AR: PA *kīHSāt- (HS=hs, 's, h0, '0, *h1, *'1) (Ho 57.261) 'trouble, bad, sorry'. Salish: Cw qəl 'bad', Tw qəlləb / qələb 'bad'.
- BARK (of tree). PChK *?ilqə 'bark'. Gil hatx 'cover, shell, rind, peel'. AR: PA *walakēθkwa (Sb 41.299) 'bark'.
- BEAR (n.) PChK *mečwe 'brown bear'. Gil molk 'bear sp.' AR: PA *maθkwa (Sb 67a.21) 'bear'; W(Ha) βokw 'id.'; ? Y nikwec 'grizzly bear'. Salish: Sq. ColM míXał 'black bear'. Cf. Gr AK 15.
- ? 7. BEAR, BEAVER. PCh *ümqä 'white bear'. AR: PA *ameθkwa (Sb 67a.25) 'beaver' (cf. semantic correspondence: Sh t'emt' 'beaver', ColM stəm'tám'əl' 'grizzly bear').
 - 8. BELLY. PChK *qayIV 'belly'. Salish: Sq k'wəl' 'stomach', Cw k'wəl' ə 'belly'.
 - 9. BIG. PChK *pelqa- 'big', Gil. pil- 'id.'. AR: Y pel- 'id.'.
 - BLACK, PChK *kvətxV- 'black', AR: PA * kaθk- (Ho 57.254) 'black'.

- 11. BLOOD. PChK *məlmV- (< *məlvə-) 'blood'. AR: PCA *meskwi (Bl 25.141) 'id.'; W(Pr) wətkə²wik 'id.'. Salish: ColM mə́l'-t 'blood-stained', məɨk'áya' 'blood', Sh mítk'ye 'blood'.
- 12. BLOOD, RED. Gil pay- 'red'. AR: Y pekoy(e)k 'blood', pekoy- 'red'; PA *nepek- / *nipek- (Pr) 'blood'.
- 13. BLOOD, RED. PChK *'səlxə 'red'. Gil čhoX 'blood'. AR: W(Gr AK 156) say- 'red'. Salish: Sh ciqw 'red', c'ibw 'to bleed', Sq caqw 'to bleed', Tw 'as-c'éq 'red'.
- 14. BOAT. PChK *Xətvə 'boat'. AR: PA *-ōθ- (BI 25.139, Pr) 'canoe'; Y (')oc 'boat'. Salish: Tw 'o'otXs 'ocean-canoe', Sq witaX 'type of canoe'.
- 15. BONE. PChK *-²tqəl 'humerus, thigh-bone, rib-bone'. AR: PA *waθkani (Sb 41.299) 'bone'; W(T) watkadót 'id.'; Y (²)wəłkə² 'bone'.
- 16. BREAST. PChK **levle 'breast, chest'. AR: PCEA *nōn- (SI 60.236) 'suckle'; W(Ha) -runoč- 'id.'; Y newon 'breast; milk', newonoc- 'suckle'. Salish: Sq s-?íl-inas 'chest', Ms s-?íl-es 'id.'
- 17. BREATHE, WIND. PChK *Ivəl / *jvəl 'wind'. Gil la 'id.'. AR: Y rōwos- 'to smoke a pipe', -rŏ' 'pipe', rō-kw 'wind'; PA lōwe'θ-, *lōyew- 'to blow, to blow on' (Pr). Salish: Sh s-new-t 'wind', CdA niw' 'wind blows', Kal né'u 'to blow'.
- 18. BURN (tr.) PChK *uyi- 'burn'. Gil ugu- 'set fire, set on fire' (formally caus. from u- 'burn [itr.]). Salish: Sh yeqw- 'light, burn', c-yeqw 'fire, lighted; firewood', Sq yəqw-, (h)i'qw- 'fire'.
- 19. BURN (itr.), LIGHT. PChK *pinəj- 'burn (itr), light'. Gil plaju- 'shine, glitter'. AR: PA *pesk-alē- (Ge 41.305) 'fire blazes up'. Other AK cognates see in Gr AK 72.
- CARRY (ON BACK). Gil yin-//hin- 'carry on back'. AR: PA *nay-'carry on back' (Pr); Y negem- (2nd pers. imper. ne²gec-) 'take, carry (a load)'.
- ? 21. CAT. Gil khisk 'cat'. AR: PA *kāšakēnsa (Ho 57.255).

- 22. CHARCOAL, BLACK. PChK *vəlqə- 'black; charcoal (PCh *vulqə- 'darkness, evening', *vəlqə 'charcoal'). Gil vilvila-'black'. AR: W(T) waròg 'coals'; Y lo²og 'embers, coals', lo²ogey- 'to be black, to be dark-colored'. Cf. Gr AK 165.
- 23. CHILD, MAN. PChK *'Xola 'child (m.)'. Gil oyla, GilS eyl-n 'child, son'. PCA *ileniwa 'man' (Bl 25.135), PA *ileniwaki 'men' (Mc 35b.155). Salish: Sh s-Xélwe, Kal s-Xélui', ColM s-Xálwi' 'husband'.
- 24 COME. PChK *pkəθov- 'come'. Gil pʰrɨ- 'come, arrive'. Salish: Sh pút'-m 'come out of the bush, emerge from the wood'; CdA p'ut' 'come to the end'; Kal. púŁ'əm 'arrive at the end of stg.'; Sq p'əs to land, to go to shore; CdA pa'as 'come to surface'. PCA *py- (Bl 46.120), *pyā- (Bl 46.110), *pyēt- (Bl 46.122), *pyēθ- (Bl 46.122) 'come'.
- 25 COOK. PChK *'epan- 'to cook'. Gil phingaj- 'id.'. PAR: W puw- 'id.'; Y pem- 'to cook', peya'r 'to cook over an open fire'; PA *apwāni (Go 65.210) 'to roast', *apwāna (ibid.) 'bread'. Salish: Sh p'ix-m 'fry; brand (cattle)'.
- 26. CRADLE. Gil čaq 'cradle'. AR: PA *tehkinākani (Go 65. 218) 'cradleboard'.
- 27 CUT. PChK *?axt- 'cut, slit'. Gil yɨt-//hɨt- 'dissect, slit'. Salish: Sh xwit'- 'cut up, cut out', Kal xwL' 'whittle'.
- 28. DANCE. PChK *mə²la- 'to dance'. AR: PCA *nīmyiwa (Bl 46.109) 'id.'. Salish: Sq míła² '(Indian) dance; to dance', Cw míł 'winter dance'.
- 29. DAY. PChK *0Xalv V 'day'. Salish: Sq s-kwáyl 'daylight', day', Wn s-kwéyəl 'day', Tw 'as-kwél' 'sunshine'. AR: PA *Kiš-'day, sky' (Ha 67a.63), W(T) kačhóhy 'daytime'; Y kecoy- 'to be daylight', kecol 'day'.
- 30. DAY. Gil muyv 'day'. AR: PA *wāxkam- (Go 71.141) 'bright, clear; day'. Salish: Sq nuqw 'noontime', s-néqw 'noontime', s-néqw-m 'sun'.
- 31 DEER. Gil thoX 'elk'. AR: W(Ha) hołakw 'caribou'; PCA *atehkwa (Bl 46.105) 'id.'. Salish: Cl s-tiqíw², Tw s-teqéw 'horse'.

- 32. DEER, PChK' *gorə 'caribou', Salish: Tw s-g'g'éle 'elk',
- 33. DEER. PCh *Lomna (L < PChK *1, *t, *č *š) 'male deer'. Gil čholni, Gils tlani 'deer'. Salish: Kal. ColM s-cúłom 'bull'.
- 34. DISH, SCOOP. PChK *?əmlək 'scoop'. AR: PA *welākani (Vo 41.146) 'dish, bowl'.
- 35. DOG. PChK *IXeymV 'puppy'. Gil qan 'dog'. Salish: Sq s-qwmáy', Cw, s-qwméy, Tw s-qwəbáy' s-qwbá'e 'dog'.
- 36. DOG PChK *XəśXə 'dog'. Gil qaX 'lead dog (in a team)' Salish: Sh s-qeXe, Cl s-qéXə' 'dog'.
- ? 37. DOG / SEAL. Gil laŋ-r 'seal'. AR: PCA *aθemwa (BI 41.293) 'dog', PA *aθemwehsa (He 73.157) 'id.'.
 - DRINK. PChK *[?]im1- 'to drink'. AR: W(T) badoč- 'to drink' Y menokwolum- 'to gulp down'; PCA *menwa (Bl 46.98) 'he drinks (it)'.
 - 39. DRY. PChK *?kərx- 'dry'. AR: PA *kāhk- (Go 65.215) 'dry', *kāsk- (Ho 57.255) 'id.'. Salish: Sh q'iX-t 'strong, hard, tough', CdA q'eX 'be frugal, grudging'.
 - 40 DRY. PCh *pəba- 'dry (v.), be thirsty'. AR: PA *pānkw- 'dry'.
 - 41. DUST. PChK *pinpin 'ashes'; Gil phlɨŋɣ 'id. soot'. Salish: Sq pək'w 'form puffs or clouds of dust, smoke, spray', Cw s-pk'wəm 'dust'; AR: Y penkw 'acorn flour', *penkw-el- 'to be eaten hollow by bugs', PA *penkwi 'ashes, powder' (Ge 41.306).
 - 42. EAGLE. PChK *0ilmə 'eagle'. Gil čham 'id.'. AR: PA *keliwa (Ho 57.256) 'id.', *kenliwa (Pr); W(Ha) ko'wal-īł 'hawk'; Y knūu 'hawk'.
 - 43. EAGLE, HAWK. PChK *p?ə\dv (~ pX-) 'sea eagle'. Gil phisk 'kite (bird)'. PCEA *pīšwka / *peškwa (Sb 67a.16) 'night-hawk'. Salish: Sh s-piq'w, Sq, Cw piq' 'nighthawk'.
 - 44. EAR. PChK *vilvi- 'ear', *valV-mjV- 'hear'. Salish: Sq q'wél-a'n, Cw q'wīn', Ch q'wéwel. Tw g'welláde(h) 'ear'.

- 45. EAT. PChK *'nu- 'to eat'. Gil iń-//ńi- 'id.'. PCA *-am (Bl 46.113) 'by mouth, eat, bite', *amw- (Bl 46.110) 'eat'. Salish: Sh mt-əs 'feed', CdA æm(-t) 'share food', Kal 'em' 'to feed', ColM 'émt-ən 'to feed'. Cf. Gr AK 59.
- 46. ELBOW. Gil toŋk 'elbow'. AR : PA *ne-toškwani (Mc 35b.137) 'my elbow'; W(IIa) βatuk 'elbow', cukr- 'do with elbow'; also PA *-htōškwani (Ge 41.309) 'elbow'.
- 47. EYE. PChK *'ləla 'eye', Gil nax 'eye', ni-saX 'tears' (-saX 'water').

 AR: W(T) balid 'eye'; Y -lin 'id.'. Salish: Sq qlúm' 'eye', Cw qələm 'id.'. Cl qəyən' 'id.'.
- 48. FACE. Gil n-ińk 'face, muzzle'. AR: PA *-īnkw- (He 73.154) 'face, look'.
- 49. FAT PChK *qwalqwa(1) 'fat, grease'. AR: PA *wīlenwi (Mc 35b.164) 'fat'; Y wei 'fat' (noun).
- 50. FAT. PChK *?məθqə 'fat'. Gil ηοΧ 'fat'. AR: PA *mak- (Ha 58.246) 'grease'.
- 51. FEAR. ? PChK *wečV- 'to fear'. Gil iɣlu-//khlu-//xlu- 'to fear'. AR: PA *kwē'θēwa (Sl 60.118) 'he fears him', PCA *ko'θ- (Bl 46.112) 'fear', *ko'tāčiwa (Ho 57.265) 'he is afraid'; Y 'ekweyłpel- 'to be afraid'. See Gr AK 66.
- 52. FEATHER. PCh *tiŋ5- 'feather'. ? Gil tup-r / thup-r 'feather, down'. Salish: Sh t'emn 'feather, fur, animal hair', Tw t'abéd 'hair'
- 53. FIN, ARM. K č'ukč'uk, č'xi- 'fin'. Gil nɨ-sk 'id.'. Salish: CdA s-cugw-áXən, Kal s-čuw-áXən 'arm'. Other AK corresp. see Gr AK 94.
- 54. FINGER. PCh *6eθ- 'thumb'. AR: Blackfoot -kic- 'finger'; W kisan 'hand'; Y -ketew 'little finger' (Gr AK 93). Salish: ? Twana s-sq'áče(h) 'finger'. Cf. Gr AK 93.
- 55. FISH. PChK *?ənčV 'fish'. Gil čho 'id.'. PA *wāhsiwa, *wāhsehsiwa (Sb 67a.36) 'brown bullhead, eastern catfish, horned pout'.

- 56. FISH. K ke²k'w 'salmon sp.'. Gil khɨx 'sturgeon sp.'. Salish: Sq s-qiw²X, Ms qέ²wX, Ch qówəX 'steelhead'.
- 57. FISH, SALMON. PCh *θəkan 'salmon sp.'. AR: Cree atikk-amēk 'poisson blanc'. Salish: Sq s-c'úqwi? 'fish (generic)', Cw s-c'áqwəy? 'spring salmon'. Gil: tuki 'sturgeon'.
- 58. FISH. Gil nemla 'fish sp. (kind of salmon)'. AR: PCA *namē- (Bl 46.119) 'fish'; Y nepe²wiš 'fish', nepuy 'salmon', nunepew / nunepuh / nunepuy 'fish: food'.
- 59. FISH EGG. PChK *'ilq 'soft-roe, milt'. ? Gil ŋ-oyeq 'egg'. Salish: Sh 'ek'wn 'fish roe', CdA ík'wul 'id.', ColM 'ák'wəl, 'ák'wən 'fish egg'.
- 60. FISH-HOOK. Gil kherqna 'seal-hook'. AR: PA *mekeskani (/*keskani) (Sb 67b.49) 'fish-hook'.
- 61 FLOAT. PChK *vxi- 'float, swim'. Salish: Sq p'akw 'float', Cw s-p'a-p'ékw 'id.', BC p'ixla- 'id.'. Other AK correspondences see Gr AK 77.
- 62 FOAM. Gil poft-r 'foam'. AR: PA *pī²tēwi (Mc 35b.169) 'froth, foam'. Salish: Sq p'úq'wam 'to foam', Cw sp'áq'wam 'foam'.
- 63 FOOT. PChK *xəčka 'foot'. Gil ŋ-ɨčx, GilS ŋ-ačx' 'foot, leg'. AR: W(T) bačkóč 'leg'; Y -ckah 'foot'. me-ck-en- 'to be so many feet long'; PA *me-xkātali (Mc 35b.134) 'somebody's feet, legs', *me-xkāti (ibid.) 'somebody's leg', Fox -ska- 'with the foot'. Cf Gr Ak 113.
- 64. FOOTWEAR. Gil momsq 'women's foot-gear (leathern)'. AR: PCA *maxkesini (B1 46.106) 'moccasin'.
- 65. FOX, SKUNK PChK *šiqpukV 'polar fox'. Gil čhonsq 'mink'. AR: *šekākwa / *šekānkwa(?) (Ha 58.251) 'skunk'. Salish: Cw spápq-łc'a? 'ermine', M spápq-łc'a? 'weasel (winter)'.
- 66. FOX. Gil kheq 'fox.' Salish: Sh Xwbwelmx, CdA s-Xweb'w, M s-XwébwXwbw 'fox', PChK *kəθxəm 'polar fox'.
- 67. FUR. PCh *ïwö-t- 'beard, moustache'. Gil if 'id.' AR: Cree -ipiway(a) 'le poil'. Salish: Sh wup (root) 'hair, fur, weeds', Kal up 'hair on the body; grass', ColM s-wəp-cín 'beard'.

- 68. GHOST, SHAMAN. PChK *ninvit 'soul, god'. AR: PCA *manetōwa (Bl 25.132) 'manitou'. Salish: Sh s-ne'm 'spirit power', Sq s-na'm 'power possesed by medicine-man'. Pug txw-dá'ab 'shaman, shaman's power'.
- 69. GO. K xum- 'go out'. Gil qama- 'run (ab. men)'. Salish: Sh c-kwúme 'to come out of the water'. Sq kwum? 'go up, go ashore'.
- 70. GO, RUN. PCh t(5)+æ- 'go, move'. GilS tloi- (tl < *čl-) 'run (of men)'. Salish: Sh kil-, kl- 'come off, come apart, be released', CdA čeł 'separate, divorce, part'.</p>
- 71. GOOSE, DUCK. PCh gałge 'duck'. AR: Y kelok 'goose'; PA
 *wāpi-kīlāhkwa 'snow goose' (Pr). Salish: Sq s-kwl-kwál-c 'loon;
 long-necked diver'.
- 72. GUTS. PChK *jixəjV 'guts'. Gil η-ɨu-s 'gut'. AR: Y -yah 'stomach'; PCA *w-īyawi (Bl 46.86) 'his body', PA *w-īyawehsi (Ha 67c.143) 'meat, flesh'. Other AK corresp. see Gr AK 27.
- HAND, FINGER. PChK *šilx(w)ə 'finger'. Gil čhɨlm 'palm'. AR:
 W(T) -ahšon 'arm'; Y -sen 'id.'; PA *-θenčyē (SI 60.118) 'finger, hand'.
- 74. HEAD. PChK *kə-č[?]i 'head', *čwə-šx 'hair' (lit. 'fur of head'). Gil thɨx, GilS thax 'forehead'. AR: PA *me-štekwāni (Mc 35b.144) 'somebody's head'; Y tōkun, -tō 'head of fish'. Other corresp. see Gr AK 96.
- 75. HEAD. Gil čon-r 'head'. AR W(T) watbát 'head'; AR PA *-tempē-(Mc 35b.145), *netempi (Mc 35b.142) 'my brain', *-temp-(Pr) 'head'.
- 76. HEAD, HAIR. K k'im 'hair'. Gil hemi 'temple'. Salish: Cl s-q'wúni' 'head', M q'wúm-qən 'id.', Sq s-q'wúmay' 'hair (on head)'.
- 77. HEAR. PChK *valV-mjV-'hear' (*valV- 'ear'). Gil mi- 'listen'.
- 78. HEEL. PChK *?akje- 'sole; heel'. Gil ingi 'id.'. AR: Cree m-akkwan(a) 'heel' (PA *-nkw-~*-skw-~*-hkw-).

- 79. HIP, THIGH. Gil čhińx 'shin'. AR: Y to? 'hip (body p.)'; PA *οθōkani (Mc 35b.154) 'his, her hip'. Salish: Sh s-c'w-xen 'thigh hindquarter', M s-c'ú?-xən 'foot, leg'.
- 80. HOUSE, CAMP. PCh *nom- 'camp, settlement'. Salish: Sq lam' Cw lélom' 'house'.
- 81. I. PChK xə-mə 'I' (< *xə-nə, cf. Esk borrwing). Gil ńi 'I', ń- '1st ps sg (pref.)'. PAR *ne-: PA *ne- 'first person prefix', *ne-t- 'I' (Mc 35b.147); W(T) du- '1st person pronominal prefix'; Y (?)ne-1st pers. pronom. pref. Salish: CI n(ə)- 'my', Sq (?)n- 'possess. pref. 1st pers. sg.', -n 'subj. suff. 1st pers. sg,' etc. See Gr p. 54.
- 82. ICE. PChK *xələ 'ice'. Salish: Sh s-xwuy-nt, ColM sxwúyntk 'ice'.
- 83. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN. PChK *(m)əŋqV 'what'. Gil aŋ 'who'.
 AR: PCA *awēn- (B1 46.116) 'who is it'. Salish: Sq 'śnča 'which',
 Cw nikweł-śnəce 'where', Ms śnəce 'id.'
- 84 JUMP. PCh *təgaj- 'to jump'. Gil čarq- 'id.'. AR: PA *kwāHk- (Ho 57.267) 'to jump'.
- 85. KETTLE. PChK *kuke 'kettle'. AR: PCA *axkehkwa (Bl 46.96) 'kettle'.
- 86. KNOW. PCh *lögäl- 'recognize, get sight'. Salish: Sq 4q'i'-s 'know be acqainted with', Ms 46q'əl-əxw 'know'.
- 87. LAND, SHORE. PChK *?erxə- 'shore'. Gil irki 'shore', GilS irkišr 'id.'. AR: PA *axki (Mc 35b.168), *axkyi (Sb 41.301) 'land'. ? Salish: Sq s-yəXás 'large rock'.
- 88. LIVER, SPLEEN. PChK *kilime / kilime 'kidney'. Gil čhulair 'spleen (fish-)'. Salish: Tw čólab 'lungs', š-čollób 'liver' (PSal *kolam ~ -n).
- 89. LIZARD, FROG. PCh *waməngə- 'triton'. Gil mengaj 'lizard' Salish: R, ColM wark 'frog'.
- 90. LONG, BIG. PCHK *kələ- 'great, big'. Gil kɨl- 'long'. AR: PCA *kenw- (Bl 46.120) 'long' (root); Y knewe'l- 'be long, tall'; ? W(Ha) ło'w 'long'. Other AK corresp. see Gr AK 165, Am 171.

- 91. LOOK. PChK *lil-epV- 'look' (lil- 'eye'). AR: PCA *-āp (B1 46.92) 'look (suff.)'.
- 92. LOUSE. GilS hišrk 'louse', Gil hisk-r 'nit'. AR: W(Ha) hikw 'louse'; Y mo-hkoh 'id.'; PCA *ehkwa (Bl 46.93) 'id.'.
- 93. LOUSE, NIT. PCh *gbttb- (< *gbtg-) 'nit'. Salish: Sh qwtíXe, Kal qtáXwe? 'louse'.
- 94. MAKE. PChK *-(y)ərki- 'make'. AR W(T) hok- 'id.'; Y hohkum- 'to make, build, repair, cause'.
- 95. MAN. PChK *?qlə- 'man, husband'. Salish: Sh qlmuxw 'Indian; human being', Kal s-qélixw 'id.', M s-qəl'tmíxw 'man'.
- 96. MAN, PERSON. PCh *nəməlbən 'Koryak'. Gil ńivx, GilS ńivvŋ 'man, person; Gilyak'. AR: PCA *nāpēwa (Bl 46.107) 'male, man', PA *nāpē- (Mc 35b.135) 'male'; Y pegił 'male (animal)', pegək 'man'. Salish (suffixal): Sh -mx / məx 'people', CdA -mš 'id.', etc. Other AK corresp. see Gr AK 166.
- 97. METAL, KNIFE. PChK *walə 'women's knife'. Gil vɨč, GilS wat 'iron'. Salish: Sh s-wl-wlilm 'iron', CdA w'ul'w'ul'ím' 'iron, knife', M wəlwəlím 'iron, metal'.
- 98. MINK. Gil čhonsq 'mink'. AR: PA *šānkwēhšiwa (Sb 67a.25) 'mink'.
- 99. MOSS, GRASS. PCh *məjgə 'moss', *məlgə 'turf'. Gil vaX 'moss'. AR: PA *maškixkiwi (He 73.156) 'grass', *maškyēkwi 'swamp'. Salish: Sq máqwam 'moss; swamp', Ch qwām 'moss', Tw báqwab 'field'.
- 100. MOUTH. PChK 'lpələ 'cheek', 'lpəlo- 'to gnaw'. Gil ilm-//hilm- 'hold in the mouth'. Salish: s-pl-u-cn 'mouth', Kal s-pəl-ím'cən 'id.'. Cf also Gil ivlix 'lip'.
- 101. NAME. PChK *?əlnə / *ŋəlnə 'name'. AR: W(T) wan- 'id.'; Y weg-enoy- 'to be named' (-eg- infix); PCA *wīn1- (BI 46.115), *wīn-t- (BI 46.115) 'name, tell'. Salish: Sq nəh, na(?) 'name', Cw snɛ 'id.'

- 102. NAVEL. PChK *keti 'navel'. Gil khtlms 'id.'. AR: PA *mečīlwi (Mc 35b.136) 'somebody's navel', (Pr.) *wīlyi 'id.'
- 103. NIPPLE. PChK *muθvə (~ -t- -l- -l-) 'nipple'. Gil moč 'fem. breast, bosom'. AR: PA *meθeni (Mc 35b.136) 'somebody's nipple'; W(Ha) βasar 'nipple', (Pr) bəsəd 'breast' (PAR *me3V [~ -s-]). Cf AK 32.
- 104. NUT, ACORN. Gil pulk-s 'acron, bean'. AR: PA *pakāna / -i (Go 65.216) 'large nut'.
- 105. ONE. PChK *'akna 'one', Gil ńɨ 'id.'. AR: PCA *nekotw- (Bl 46.120) 'one'; Cheyenne -nokä 'one'; W(T) kuc-, (Ha) ku'c- 'one'; Y koht- 'one', kohci 'once'. Salish: Sh nk'wu', CdA nék'we', Sq nač'-, Cl náč'u' 'one', etc. See Gr AK 144.
- 106. PADDLE, ROW. PChK *teyme- 'to row'. Gil. čombi-zombi- 'to row by turns'. Salish: Tw Xwô'bat 'paddle', Cl Xwû'nət 'id.'.
- 107. PARTRIDGE. Gil payi 'partridge'. AR: PA *paxpaxkiwa / *paxkiwa (cf. Sb 67a.16) 'partridge'.
- 108. PITCH, RESIN. Gil čhoX 'pitch'. AR: Fox šekāhkwa 'pitch', Shawnee šekwaki 'pine logs; chewing gum'. Salish: Sq čəmX 'pitch, resin', Cw cəməX 'pitch'.
- 109. PUS, ROTTEN. PChK *r(ə)qə- 'rotten', *rqəyol- 'pus'. Gil lolq 'pus'. Salish: Sh y'uq'w 'rotting, rotten', CdA doq'w 'wood is rotten', Tw yóq'w 'rot'; probable comparison with: Sh neq' 'rot', CdA naq' 'organic substance is rotten', ColM ná'q' 'rotten food'.
- 110. RAFT, BOAT. PCh *timi 'raft'. Gil čom 'raft'. AR: PA *čīmān-i (Mc 35b.160) 'canoe'.
- 111. RAIN. PChK *? uxV 'rain'. Gil lɨx 'id.'. Salish: Sq yiq 'to snow', Cw yiq 'it's snowing', cf. Sq 'á? iqn 'wet snow'.
- 112. RIVER. PChK *kweyəm 'river'. Salish: Sq Xwam- 'rushing current', Cw Xwəwm; Ms Xwəym 'rapids, rushing current in sea or river'.

- 113. ROAD. PChK *θvi-nəm 'road'. Gil či-f 'id.'. Salish: CdA n-šégwel. Kal šu², šuw'éł, Sq šuáł, Pug šagwł 'road', Cl súł 'door, road', Tw šə²wáł 'road, door', ColM xəwal 'road, trail'.
- 114. ROCK, MOUNTAIN. PChK *?enmə- 'mountain'. Salish: Sq s-man-t 'stone', s-manit '(high) mountain', Tw sə-bád-ed (3rd sg. possess. sə-bád-es) 'mountain'.
- 115. ROOT (EDIBLE). PChK *pŋəl- 'root'. AR: PA *oxpenya (Sb 41.301) 'groundnut, potato', PCA *-xpenu- (Bl 46.121) 'tuber, potato'. Salish: Sq s-pán-an-xw 'potato-like plant', Wn s-pδn-xw 'camas'.
- 116. ROOT. Gil vizlix 'root'. AR: PA *wečyēpitki / *wečyēpiski / *wečyēpiški (Pr.) 'root'; Y (?)wə?lpitək 'id'.; W(Pr) uwəlápitkə?l 'id.'. Salish: Sq šáwaq 'carrot', Cw šéwəq 'wild carrot'.
- 117. ROPE. PChK *?viłxə-t 'rope'. ?Gil ovruks, GilS ovrukšr '(special) rope'. ?Salish: Sq Xwíl?-m 'rope', Cw Xwáy?1-m? 'id.' AR: PA wīškwē- / *wīhkwē- 'wrap with a bundle-strap' (Pr.); Y (?)weskul 'strap', (?)weskwelekws 'rope of wild grapevine'.
- 118. RUB PChK *kele- 'to rub'. AR: W(Ha) kła?- 'to wash'; PA *keθ- (Ho 57.259) 'graze, scratch', *kesī- (Ho 57.258) 'rub, wipe, wash', *kešīp- (Ho 57.259) 'itch, scratch'. Salish: Sh qəs-qis-m 'to tickle', CdA qes 'scratch with nails'.
- 119. SCRAPE, SCRATCH. Gil Xarp- 'to scratch'. AR: PA *kāxp- (Ho 57.255) 'crunch, scrape'. Salish: Sq Xip' 'get nipped, scratched, touched (by stg, flying by)', Ms Xáyp'ət 'scratch'.
- 120. SEA. PChK *Xijxə- 'sea'. Gil kerq 'id.'. Salish: Sq k'wu&'kw 'salt water', Cw, Ms, Ch kwa&'kwa 'sea'.
- 121. SEAGULL. PCh *yaqlə- 'seagull'. Gil qoyla 'big seagull'. AR: Y keg-o's-neg 'seagull'; PA *keyāškwa / *kayāškwa / *kayāhkwa 'id.'. Salish: Sq q'wlítq 'gull'; Ms, Ch q'wəlítəq 'big gull'.
- 122 SEAL. PCh *θəθka 'walrus'. Gil čhuynɨx 'id.'. AR: PA *āskikwa 'seal' (Go 65.213). Salish: Cl 'ásxw, Tw 'ásaxw, Sq 'asxw 'seal'.

- 123. SEE. PChK *'laXu- / *'əłXu- 'to see'. Gil indɨ//ńšrɨ- 'see', ńu- 'look'. AR: PCA *nē- 'see' (Bl 46.120), *natw- 'seek' (Bl 46.122); Y new(-) 'see; allow'.
- 124. SHAKE. Gil liklik- 'shake (itr.), shiver'. AR: PA *neki- (Ha 58.251) 'to shake'. Salish: Sh nXel- 'be afraid', ColM naXál 'afraid'.
- 125. SHAMAN. PCh *θiŋtb 'holy'. Gil čham, GilS čamŋ 'shaman'. ?
 AR: PA *čīpaya (Mc 35b.146) 'ghost, corpse'. Salish: Sq
 s-xw²úmtn 'medicine man', Cw xwən²émθət 'shaman's spirit
 quest'.
- 126. SHOOT. PCh *p5- 'to shoot'. AR: PCA *pe- (BI 46.120) 'id.'.
- 127. SINEW. Gil ton-s 'sinew'. Salish: Sq *tinx (root), ti-tn'x 'sinew', CdA tinč 'sinew, muscle', M tínx 'sinew'.
- 128. SISTER. PChK *?ələ(I)kV 'sister'. Gil nanak, GilS nanx 'elder sister.'
- 129. SIT. PChK *θva- 'to sit'. Gil išrp-//thiv-//šriv- 'id.'. AR: PA *ap- (He 73.157) 'sit'.
- 130. SKIN. *xilxə 'skin; body'. Gil hal 'body; skin'. Salish: Sq k'wl²áw' 'skin (human, fish)', Cw k'wələw' 'skin, hide'.
- 131. SKIN. Gil mosqar 'skin of dried fish'. AR: W(T) wátkoy 'skin'; Y (')wəskun, -'wəs 'id.'; PA *paskw-ēk-en-wi (Ge 41.309) 'tanned hide, leather'.
- 132. SLEEP. PChK *nyəlqə- 'to sleep'. AR: PCA *nepēwa (B1 46.97) 'he sleeps'; W(Ha) nītw- 'to sleep' (PAR *nełkwV-).
- 133. SMOKE. PChK *čqi- 'to smoke' (itr.), *čqičqimə 'smoke'. AR: PCA *θše'θēmāwa (B1 25.145) 'tobacco'. Salish: Sq Ł'íq'wm 'to smoke (itr.), Cw s-Ł'éyəq'əm' 'smoke'. Cf Gr AK 176.
- 134. SNAKE. PChK *[?]əlxə 'snake'. Salish: Sq [?]ə́lqay[?] 'snake', Cw [?]ə́lqəy[?], CdA alq'íc'änč 'id.'. AR: PA *aθkōka 'snake' (Sb 41.299), *-askwaya- (Ge 41.310) 'bloodsucker; snail'.

- 135. SNOW. PChK *pəŋa- '(falling) snow'. AR: PA *meθponwi (S1 60.236) 'it's snowing'; W(Ha) paro'r 'snow'; ? Y kipun 'winter'.
- 136. SNOW. Gil ŋaq-r 'snow'. AR: PA *mexkwamya (Sb 41.301) 'ice'. Salish: Sq máqa', Cw mέqε, Cl ŋáqə' 'snow'. Cf Gr AK 105. PCh *muqb- 'rain; hail'.
- 137. SNOW. PCh *mulqb- 'the last spring snow'. Salish: Sh t-mukw-tm' 'snow on trees', CdA mik'w 'snow', Kal səméq'wət 'id.', M s-mák'w-t 'snow on the ground'.
- 138. SNOW, HAIL. Gil aqm 'hail'. AR: PCA *ākim- (Bl 46.117-118) 'snow: white'.
- 139. SNOW, WHITE. PCh *kana- 'snow (spring-)'. Gil qonu- 'white', qana 'snowcap on a mountain', qana- 'white (about cloth)'. AR: PA *kōnya (Ho 57.267) 'snow'.
- 140. SOFT. PCh *jb0b- 'soft'. AR: Cree yōsk- 'tendre, doux'.
- 141. SPIT, SALIVA. PChK *(?)ti?ńkwa 'saliva'. PA *sehkw-i(?) (SI 60.236) 'spit'. Salish: Sq təXw-, Cw tXwat 'to spit'.
- 142. SPOON. Gil mɨyx 'wooden spoon'. AR: PA *ēmeskwāni (Mc 35a.39), *ēmeXkwāna (probably -hkw-) (Sb 67b.49,54) 'spoon'.
- 143. SPOTTED. Gil tay-f 'spot, stain'. AR: W(Ha) tayalatk- 'spotted'; Y təgə'yk'ə'əy- 'be spotted'.
- 144. SPRUCE, PINE. PCh *tgegev 'larch'. Gil thvisk 'spruce'. AR: PCA *šenkwāxkwa (Bl 46.105) 'pine tree'. Salish: Tw c'éq'pe(h) / q'c'éq'pe(h) 'fir (-tree)'.
- 145. SQUIRREL. PChK **ləkwIV 'squirrel'. Gil laq-r 'squirrel', olvilak 'flying sqirrel'. AR: PA *anyikwa (Go 67a.9) 'squirrel', pelēnikwa (Sb 67a.21) 'flying squirrel'; Y plī'w-es 'gray squirrel'.
- 146. STAND. Gil kipr- 'to stand'. PA *-kāpi- (Mc 57.151) 'to stand'.
- 147. STAR. PChK *?əŋer 'star'. Gil uńγr 'id.'. AR: PA *aθankwa (Go 65.211) PCA *aθānkwa (Bl 25.138) 'id.'.

- 148. STINGING INSECT, LEECH. PChK *kəm(V)XV 'stinging insect'.
 Gil qenax 'leech'. AR: PA *akaskwaya (Sb 67b.49) 'leech'.
- 149. STONE. PCh *pəlwə- 'metal, iron'. Gil paX 'stone'. AR: W(Ha) płatk 'stone, metal'; PCEA *-āpeθkwi (Sb 41.300) 'rock, stone'.
- 150. STRONG. PChK *kətvə- 'strong, solid, healthy'. ? Gil teqa- 'strong'. AR: Cree kist- 'former / être en tout solide'.
- 151. TAKE. Gil ye-//ke- 'take, buy'. AR: W(Pr) kh-án 'grasp, hold'; Y 'ekonem- 'to hold, to keep', (Pr) 'ekec- 'to clinch down'. Salish: Sh (c-)'ukw- 'take, bring, carry', kwen (root) 'take (hold of), hold (in place)', kwəl-en 'borrow', etc. (derivates of PSI root *kwv- 'take, hold'); probable compar. with PSI *kin' 'touch, catch'. Cf Gr AK 101.
- 152. TELL, VOICE. PChK *qu4i 'voice; song'. AR: PA *kelaw- (Ge 41.309) 'talk, speak'. Salish: Sh qwel- 'speak, talk', Sq qwal-qwəl- 'think; speak', etc.
- 153. TELL, PCh *wət- 'tell', Gil it- 'id.', AR: PA *āt- (Go 65.214) 'id.'.
- 154. THAT. PChK *xu 'that'. Gil ku-3 'that'. AR: W(T) ku 'definite article'; Y ku (article) 'the, that; who, which'.
- 155. THROAT. PChK *7kəxə(r) 'throat'. Gil qorq-r 'id.'. AR: PA *mehkwēkani (Mc 35b.144) 'somebody's neck', *wehkwēkani (Vo 41.143) 'his neck'.
- 156. THROAT. PChK *pilxə 'throat'. Salish: Cw məlqw 'uvula', Sq məlqw 'larynx'.
- 157. THOU. Gil čhi 'thou', čh- pref. 2nd. pers. AR: W(T) khu- 2nd pers. pronom. pref., khìl 'you'; Y k'V- 2nd pers. pronom. pref, ke²l 'you (sg)'; PA *kīlawa 'thou' (Ha 87c.141), *k(e)- 2nd sg pref. Salish: Sq ²axw, -axw predicative clitic, resp. subject suff. 2nd pers. sg.
- 158. TONGUE. PChK *jilvə- 'tongue'. Gil hilx 'id.'. AR: Y *hip4, me-yp4 'tongue'. Salish: Sq -alxwca4 'tongue'.
- 159. TOP. PChK *xə'n- 'top'. Salish: Sh -qin', Tw -qəd, ColM -qən, Sq -qin 'top'.

- 160. TREE. Gil čiy-r 'tree; firewood'. AR: W(Ha) -ōti? 'wood'; PCA *-āhtekw (Bl 46.106) 'stick, wood, tree', PCEA *-e²tekqw- (Sb 67b.56) 'tree; stick, dry wood'. Salish: Sq s-cəq 'wood, tree, log, stick', Cw θq-εt 'tree'.
- 161. URINATE. Gil čhu- 'to urinate'. AR: PA *ošeki (Mc 35b.154)
 'he, she urinates', PCA *šekiwa (Bl 25.146) 'he defecates'; W(Ha)
 tīk-al- 'urinate'. Salish: Sq sóXwa' Cw sóXwa 'urine', Tw sóxwo
 'urine (male)'.
- 162. WALK. PChK *pejV- 'walk'. Gil vi- 'go', ve- 'run (about animals)'. AR: PCA *-pah-tō (B1 46.91) 'run'.
- 163. WATER. PChK *'ičq(w)ə- 'wet'. Gil čhaX '(fresh) water; stream'. Salish: Sh k'wəl-cəXw-ciXw 'waterfall', CdA hin-céXut 'stream, river', Sq c-céXwm 'waterfall, falls'.
- 164. WE. PChK *muri 'we'. Gil mer, GilS min 'we'. Salish: Sq n-ímal person. subst. 1st pers. pl., -umul obj. suff. 1st pers. pl., M nəmníməl 'we', Tw debál 'we', etc.
- 165. WEASEL. PChK *'im šiq- (~ -mθ-) 'ermine'. AR: PA *šenkwhesi (Sb 67a.25) 'weasel'. Salish: Sh si-sk' 'gopher', CdA sič', Kal sísč' 'ground squirrel'.
- 166. WHALE. PChK *yuni 'whale'. Gil ken / qen 'whale'. Salish: Sq qwanis, Cw qwénes 'whale'.
- 167. WIFE, WOMAN. PChK *naw-'female', Gil umgu 'wife, woman'. Salish: Sh nuXw-nXw 'woman over 12-14 years old', CdA noXnoX 'spouse', etc.
- 168. WOMAN. PChK *škəvV 'woman (elder)'. AR: PA *e@kwēw-'female, woman'.
- 169. WOMAN, GIRL. PChK *łani 'girl'. Salish: Sq s-łán-ay², Cl s-łáni², Tw s-łáday 'woman'.

ABBREVIATIONS

AK - Almosan-Keresiouan

AR - Algonquian-Ritwan

BC - Bella Coola

BL 25 - see Aubin 1975, p. vi-ix.

BL 16 - see Aubin 1975, p. vi-ix.

CdA - Cœur-d-Alène

Ch - Chilliwank

Cl - Clallam

ColM - Moses-Columbian

Cw -Cowichan

Esk - Eskimo

Ge 41 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Gil - Gilyak (= Nivkh), Amur dialect

GilS - Gilyak, East-Sakhalin dialect

Go 65 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Go 67a - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Go 71 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Gr = Greenberg 1987

Gr AK - chapter 'Almosan-Keresiouan' in Greenberg 1987.

Ha - Hass 1958

Ha 58 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Ha 67a - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Ha 67c - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

He 73 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Ho 57 - Hockett 1957

IJAL - International Journal of American Linguistics

K - Kamchadal (= Itelmen)

Kal - Kalispel

Mc 35b - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Ms Musqueam

PA - Proto-Algonquian

PAR - Proto-Algonquian-Ritwan (= Proto-Algic)

PCA - Proto-Central Algonquian

PCEA - Proto-Central-Eastern Algonquian

PCh - Proto-Chukchi-Koryakan

PChK - Proto-Chukchi-Kamchatkan

Pr - Prouix 1984

PSal - Proto-Salishan

Pug - Puget Sound

Sb 41 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Sb 67a - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Sb 67b - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Sh - Shuswap

SI 60 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

Sq - Squamish

T - Teeter 1964

UCPL - University of California Publications in Linguistics

Tw - Twana

Vo 41 - see Aubin 1975, pp. vi-ix.

W - Wiyot

Y - Yurok

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RECONSTRUCTIONS

KAMCHUKCHEE ROOTS Oleg Mudrak

[The following list represents the reconstruction of Kamchukchee (-Chukchi-Kamchatkan) roots by O. Mudrak. According to Mudrak and Nikolaev, Kamchukcheee, along with Gilyak (= Nivkh), is related to Almosan-Keresiouan, a phylum of Amerind (in Greenberg's terminology). According to Dolgopolsky, Greenberg, et. al., Kamchukchee is related to Nostratic.

See the table of Kamchukchee phonemes at the end of the list. -V.S.]

```
*(m)anga 'what'
#-(y)arki- 'to make'
*-əlxəla 'to be
                  similar'
#-{wa- 'to win'
x?(a) tuxx
            'rain'
#? ča!-
        'far'
x?ečxa-
          'light.white'
*?exrn-,?exrn-
                'ebb'
*?elwa-,?e?lu- 'to gather'
#?em
       'only'
*?erxa-?erxa 'meat,boiled
                          fish
#?erxe 'shore'
*?etal-man 'southern, valley
                            peoples'
#?ewXakA
           'wild lily!
*?ewiv- 'to rise (itr.)'
*?eymaq
         'soup,bouillon'
#?naina
          'name'
#?nalxin.?nain-
                 'fish-net'
*?ŋərŋʌ 'on the outside'
*2narkain- 'to be ashamed'
#?na8o-.?an8o- 'to come out'
#?šałxa.?šalxa 'red'
```

*? Xeqa- 'bad'

#? Xeyluii 'doll'

*? Xaka-, Xaka- 'hot'

*? Xəməθqn,? məθqn 'fat(n.)'

*? Xo(y)la 'boy,lad'

*?a?wanwa 'hole,window'

*?a?wołxa 'nest'

*?ačqə- 'lame;to limp'

*?anya- 'to command'

*? alpan- 'to repair'

*?apłagai- 'to sneeze'

*?arxe- 'to undress'

#?avjala 'sack'

*?axta- 'to cut'

#?ayp- 'to close'

*?aywa-?aywa 'brain'

*?ayxava 'north'

*?ačja- 'to string.to thread'

*? a č x , ? a č x a - 'they'

*?aner 'star'

*2 anga- 'hunting'

#?angi- 'illness'

*?ajvakla- 'to strike,to beat'

#?ajxi- 'to smell'

#?akje- 'sole,foot'

*?əknə−n 'one'

*?al?axja 'mother'

*?al?awju 'nephew'

#?alni 'very'

#?alqx- 'cold'

*?alwa-?alwa 'caribou'

*?aixa-?aixa 'snake,worm,cterpillar'

*?ai?ax 'father'

#?aixu-,?laxu- 'to see,to look'

*?alu-?alu 'salmon sp.'

*?ałwa 'friend,other man'

*? am - 'deep'

#?əmə-ŋ 'all'

*?amaj- 'to leave'

*?amajku- 'light,easy'

*?amaiqx- 'scoop,dipper'

*?amja- 'bitter'

*?amja-?amja 'ashberry'

#?an,?an- 'he'

#?ənča 'fish'

#?ana- 'this'

*?anam- 'village'

#?apan- 'to cook'

*?apan-?apan 'boiled food'

*?arat,?arči- 'bow,gun'

*?ərxaθək 'tomorrow'

*?əθə?na 'den,lair'

*?ayla?na 'brother'

#?ayłax- 'sweet'

*? aym(a)1- 'soft'

*?ayt-,yat- 'to bring in'

*2i2n'em8a- 'patch'

#?ičq(w)a- 'damp,sodden'

*?ijak 'a kind of edible root,makarsha'

#?ikam- 'short'

#?ilq-?ilq 'milt,soft-roe'

*?ilqa-?ilqa 'bark'

*?ilxa- 'to wash,to wipe'

*?//xa0- 'to wash oneself'

*?iməθ 'load'

#?/m/- 'to drink'

*?imia 'water'

#?ime- 'to carry on the back'

*?im0əq,?im5əq 'ermine'

*?inan-luxx- 'to show'

*?:pra-,?/pja- 'to splash'

#?/8XA 'slippery'

#?it- 'to be'

#?ita 'when'

*?itma- 'rough,bald'

*71v8a- 110W1

#?iwəl- 'long'

*?iyəqn- 'terrible'

*?iykər- 'to thist;bitter'

#2jar2a- 'red'

*?jax-?iax-?iax-?iax-'to tickle'

#? jili- 'to choose, to select'

*?jimja- 'dense,thick'

*?joxav- 'to meet,to reach'

*?kena-?kena 'fish-belly'

*?kajxarna- 'shoal'

*?karx- 'dry'

*?kawa- 'to burn(itr.)'

*?kaxa(r) 'throat'

*?kiim 'mosquito'

*?leyav!- 'orphan'

*?/ni-(-ini) "it's right"

*217u- 'to like to love'

#?1a- 'to say'

#?/a(/)k/ 'sister'

#?lašva 'brow'

*?/akwin 'squirrel'

*?/ə/-pin- 'eyelid'

#?/a/a 'eye'

*?/ə/a-?šxA 'eyelash'

*?lap-?lap 'joint'

*?/aqv/- 'dirty'

*?/ay-?/ay 'dew'

*?//n/a- 'heart'

*?linvit- 'to console'

*?/i/-epa- 'to see'

*?/i/a 'mitten'

*?Imala- 'to believe'

#?/pii- 'to bite,to gnaw'

#?/uv/u-,?/u?/u- 'breast,nipple'

#?/vi- 'to cut'

#?}ex- 'together'

*?legwa8 'head of animals'

#?}akma-?}akma 'gills'

#? lakja8- 'to dive'

#? | a | a | to regale, to gourmand'

#?iinaia- 'live coals'

#?3invi- 'to irritate'

*? # ima i (a) q 'crumb, chip'

*? irma-,? imra- 'danger, angry'

#23991 'bone'

#?maka 'face'

*?matu- 'infirm,unable'

#?n'imta-?n'imta 'land,earth'

#2024a- 'to call'

*?očka0 'mrtlet'

*?om- 'warm'

*?omat- 'to bind,to knit'

*2q/a-(-k) 'man,husband'

*?qu?q-(-əl) 'hole,ice-hole'

#? 0 a 1 - 2 0 a 1 'Mercus sp.'

*?təlx 'scales,skin'

#?u?we- 'to kiss'

*?utxa- 'soft,swampy'

*?uvika 'carcass,body'

*?uwta-?uwta 'tree,wood'

*?vansa 'broad,wide'

#?vala-?mj- 'to hear'

#?valke- 'to sink'

#?vəlu- 'small,little'

*?valxa-.valxa- 'thin'

*?vaixat 'rope'

*?vitwa- 'old.decrepit'

*?xamalxn,?malxn 'fire'

*?xən'- 'top,heigh'

*?xanni-.?xanni- 'such'

*?xənəixa.?nəixa 'wool.fell'

*?xənkə- 'satisfied,tender'

*?xarxa-?xarxa 'high'

*?xatu 'rib'

#?xu- 'that'

*černa- 'to cry,to weep'

*čašjola 'fox'

*čə?n/a- 'to throw (tr.)'

#ca?nta- 'to throw (tr.)'

*čəni- 'to sew'

*čəmla- 'to lick'

#čira 'knee'

#čivla- 'to drag'

*čjali- 'to go,to ride'

*čkəŋvi- 'to bend'

#čqi- 'to smoke'

*čqičqima 'smoke'

#čvoqəra- 'ant,gadfly'

*čwəšx(A) 'hair'

*n?ačwa- 'loud'

*nejku-nejku 'swan'

*nelva 'herd'

*naw- 'female-'

*nawiina- 'wife'

*nay-nay 'mountain,rock'

*na+- 'to burn,to smoke'

*nai-nai 'smoke'

*narkie 'bag,sack'

*πəyθeq 'two,second'

*ninva- 'many'

#nie?a- 'to hunt'

*nojna 'tail'

*nolka- 'slippery icy field'

##raq 'four'

*nroq 'three'

*ntola- 'to fall'

*nu- 'that'

*nuyčkwa-,nvičkwa- 'weak'

*nyelke- 'thunder,crash'

*nyəlqə- 'to sleep'

*5 X alwa- 'knot'

*5aq- 'which, what'

#\$ayla- 'to slip,to slide,to roll'

#\$alana- 'to think,to suppose'

*šəpa- 'pestle'

#5ilq-5ilq 'soup,tolkusha'

#\$ilxa-,\$ilwa- 'danger'

#311-311 'wing'

*Sigpuka 'polar fox'

#Škava,θkava 'woman (elder)'

#Swaina- 'to turn,to return'

#XaX-XaX 'axe-handle'

#Xai-Xai 'snow'

*Xaiwa 'axe,hammer'

*Xarvi 'rafter'

*XačaXe0A,?ačaXe0A 'road'

#Xan-Xan inosei

*Xənəda- 'nostril'

*Xə3Xə 'dog'

*Xəmqa- 'pester with ...'

*Xara-Xara 'rose willow'

*XətXəmA 'bone'

*Xətvə-Xətvə 'boat'

*XiX(A) 'sea'

*XijXə 'sky'

*Xi&u-Xi&u,Xi\$vA-Xi\$vA 'goose'

*Xujam@awilXn 'person'

*javal 'back(adv.)'

*jilxa- 'younger brother'

#jila- 'to give'

*jilva-jilva 'tongue'

*jixəjx 'guts,intestine'

#jkila- 'to run away'

#jku?š- 'to buy'

#jo-(-n-) 'to hide'

#jqəθ- 'go away'

#junae- 'to live'

*Jval, levi, levi,

*k(a)mi-2n 'child'

*kele- 'to write;motley'

*kele- 'to rub'

*kelilXən 'gay-coloured seal'

*kewa-kewa 'gristle'

#keyma-,kalma- 'to boil'

*kania 'pipe'

*ka?nax- 'to blaze,to fire'

*kač?e?i,kač?el?n 'forehead'

*kəč?ə-n 'head'

*kəčwə- 'good'

*kəjčn,kə?n'čn 'nest'

*kəji-kəji 'navel'

*kəl- 'to come'

*kalime,kiime 'kidney'

*kalya- 'bead'

*kəixi- 'stingy'

*kəm-kəm 'worm'

*kama- 'clothing'

*kəmaXx,kəmXa 'stinging insect'

*kamxa-,kaxma- 'to pinch'

*ka0xam-ka0xam 'sabel'

*kətepa 'mountain goat'

*kata- 'straight, har, strong'

*kav- 'to get accustomed'

#kava- 'to hit'

*kaxač- 'hand'

*kayla- 'great,tall'

*kiləməa 'fly,mosquito'

*kilXA- 'bad'

*kilim@A 'bumble-bee'

*kuke- 'kettle;to cook'

*kurxa 'two,pair'

*kvatqa- 'dark,black,blue'

*kwamałka 'chin,lower lip'

*kwap-na 'tooth'

*kwaxalqn- 'to scrape with claws'

*kwilxa-kwilxa 'birch'

*kwir-kwir 'alder tree'

*kwiyem 'river'

*kwuna-kwuna 'cedar-cone'

*/xeyma 'puppy'

*/xə?n'ə?+xn 'withers'

*/ X a x - n a wolf'

*/xiθe- 'to gallop,to run'

#/Xit-na 'neck'

*/amna/ 'tail,story'

*/ax-ar 'bow'

*lin(a)/ 'blueberry'

*lin-lin,nil-nil 'roe'

#lix-lix 'egg'

*/Pai-na 'cheek'

#Ipalo- 'to bite'

#IPIW-, IPXIV- 'to cut'

*/qayo/ 'ulcer'

*/vila- 'to drink'

* i(y) ani 'girl'

* 12 ain a 'roe, fish-roe'

*ieməiqa 'island'

#lera- 'paint;to dye'

'sun' NX61-NX61*

*famxe-famxe 'sack,hood'

#ławan'A 'foot-wear'

##i?nkwa,?#i?nkwa 'saliva'

#łoc-łoc 'back of the head'

#łomča,łyomča 'poplar,red willow'

*ixayi-ixayi 'sweat'

*ixij(-)kayi- 'to lose one's way'

*mečkwa 'bear'

#mel- 'good'

*meyča- 'far away'

*ma- 'where'

*mali- 'to sweep'

*mama 'tent'

*maroqala 'wild onion'

#ma?la- 'to dance'

*maim_n-maim_n 'blood'

*mara-mara 'tear'

*məx-məx 'wave'

*mičxə 'old (man,woman)'

#min 'which'

*minla 'hare'

*mil-mil 'louse'

*mil X A 'berry'

*mil- 'good.nice'

*mixA-mixA 'fry,young fish'

*mki,mkin- 'who'

*monra-monra 'palm'

*munkal 'lock,clasp,buckle'

*mur,murx- 'we'

#n'-2ja- 'to touch'

*n'-axca- 'to retain'

*n'-iv+a- 'to teach'

*n'-yu- 'to watch over'

*n'ovrn 'den.lair'

#n'u- 'to eat'

*nene?~ 'young of animal,child'

*nX(a)la- 'to become stg'

*nanga- 'belly,stomach'

```
#tale-8- ? 'to dance' (291)
*tanke- 'moon;to shine' ()
*tapka- 'kind of rope' (148)
*taq(ü)- 'temple,plait' ()
*tawa- 'wave' ()
*tu&a-,ta&a- 'to trample:foot' ()
#tula- 'fist; to push away, to strike' (18)
*tuj(i)% - 'snipe' (229)
*tuku-& 'chief, wealthy person' (2)
*tuni,təni 'forehead,back of the head' ()
*tupi-,tapi- 'smell,odor,stench'
                                (169)
*tuta- 'to hear' ()
#tike&'(i)- 'to arrive,to land' (110)
#təna-,tuna- 'spreadfast,firm' ()
*tawa 'man,body' ()
*wa- 'here' (14)
*wu8ru- 'moss' (145)
*wu&j- 'to heat' ()
*wuju- 'brother, younger sibling' (288)
*Wula-K
        'bearberry' (257)
*wun'i- 'story,tale' (297)
*wuse-
       'load' (45)
*will- 'to burn;red' ()
*3(1)/a 'weather,air,world' (28)
#3(1)/a% - 'wide,broad' (166)
*3(1)n'a- 'to dream' (136)
*3(1)na 'shore,side'
                      (167)
```

*nahaix 'poplar,willow' #ninvit 'God,ghost,spirit' *njat- 'to ask,to beg' *nkəlma,nkəl?a 'kernel of a nut' #nki-nki inighti *ngiw- 'strength,force' *p?əiqn,pXəiqn 'eagle' #pe?;a- 'to throw (tr.)' *pnal-pnal 'root' *pxa0 'hole' *pxon 'mushroom' *pa?ila 'hat' *panra-panra 'armpits,groin' *panša- 'skin from the deer's feet' *pana- 'it's snowing' *panlu- 'to end' *paja- 'to wander to ramble' *pakalar-,kavlar- 'haw-thorn' *pakalar-,kavlar- 'haw-thorn' *pəlq- ¹big¹ *pana- 'to sharpen' *patxo- 'many' *pin-pin 'ashes' *pinaj= 'to burn,to shine' *pilagr- 'flat' *pilxa- 'food,throat'

*pinša- 'to throw (itr.)'

 $*pk \ni \theta(v)$ - 'to come, to arrive'

*ponta-ponta 'liver'

#qapči 'back'

#qayla 'belly'

*qaytaka 'brother-in-law'

#qa1?e- 'lazy'

*qəməla-qəməla 'marrow'

*garXA-garXA 'cape'

*qəta-qəta 'frozen snow-crust'

#q1?wa- 'bad'

*qi XwA Inettle

#giyta- 'cold'

*gora- 'deer'

*qpətqə- 'to beat'

*qui?i 'other,second'

#quli- 'voice, cry'

*qulxə,kulxə 'skin (animal's)'

*qunpan' 'forever,always'

*qunvas 'once,forever'

*qup(k)- 'to be tired, to suffocate'

*quqəl(ə)- 'to make a hole'

*quyma 'trousers'

*qvən- 'thin,narrow'

*qwalqwa(1) 'fat of animals'

*qwanva 'pit'

*qwəxn-qwəxn 'nil,claw'

*r?aš?n,r%aš?n 'sinew'

*rxe-,rxe- 'to enter'

*rarq 'breeching'

*raš?a-raš?a 'lungs'

*ral- 'to lie'

*rag- 'to rot'

#ri- 'glad.happy'

*rit-rit 'belt,girdle'

*rgayoi 'pus'

*rxii-,rxii- 'inside'

*#enna- 'to smile'

*#nifiv- 'to smile,to enjoy'

*0 x a l w a - š 'day'

*82XA- 'to pour out liquid'

#θəki-θ- 'to smell;odour'

#0ale- 'to walk'

*#alva- 'to burn(itr.)'

*#alax- 'to melt,to thaw'

#0əm- 'to kill'

* # a m k A - a a m k A hummock

*#an'a- 'to weigh on'

* \theta ilma - \theta ilma 'eagle'

*0i0i- 'needle'

*#ka- 'to fight'

*8kiv- 'to spend the night'

*8ku- 'to end'

*#OP- 'to close'

* θ v A - 'to say'

```
*8va- 'to be.to sit'
*eva- 'to sit'
*#vi-nam 'road,footstep'
*t(a)kal- 'food,meat'
*tewan-,tapn- 'to warry,to be bored,to get tired'
#teyma- 'to row'
*tna- 'dawn is broking'
*txela- 'to urinate'
*txe0-txe0 'urine'
*txanač 'prow'
*ta?la- 'to beat'
#tam-tam 'growth'
*tanna- 'enemy'
*tawi-ma 'nomad'
*ta?vxiv- 'to lift,to rise (tr.)'
#təl- 'to make stg from stg'
#təmna- 'to dissapear'
*təmla 'near'
*tavia- 'to shake (tr.)'
*tawjan- 'to string at the leash'
*taxla-,ta?la- 'old (man,woman)'
#ti- 'here'
*tinu- 'to pull'
*tirxa- 'sun,moon'
*tki0-,čki0- 'to remember'
*tunvax-,tumxa- 'relative,friend,brother'
```

*tur,turx- 'you'

*tvi- 'to stand' *txava-,txma- 'to forget' *txiliv- 'to make stg from stg' *uyi- 'to burn(tr.)' *vanxar 'mouth' *vəčqə- 'dark' *vəlqə 'black,blue;charcoal' *vaipa- 'spade' *vata-,wata- 'work' #vičwa 'birch sp.' *viXaja 'grass' *vixa- 'to die' #vilva 'ear' *vxi-, 2vxi- 'to swim, to float' *welkə0xə- 'crow,magpie' *wełkwa 'raven' *wala 'knife' *walqa- 'jaw' #wayva- 'to cry' *wa- 'to scrape' *wərnik 'animal' *watxa-,?vatxa- 'straight' *wayla-wayla 'thimble' *wi/- 'sour' *wil-li?nkwa 'slime' #wiliw- 'to scoff at'

*wirwi 'bush'

*wi@va-wi@va 'salmon sp.' #wit-wit 'seal' *wjat- 'to breathe' *wji-wji 'breathe' #xčin- 'beautiful' *xe-wii-ad 'sour,rotten' *xašwa 'adze,axe' *xə?jxul- 'to narrate' *xəčkn 'foot' *xəš,xən- 'thou' *xalxa- 'skin,body (human)' *xaixi-,xasxi- 'to starve,to grow scare' *xəm,xəmn- '|' *xanv- 'middle' *xado- 'side' *xə0wə-xə0wə 'lake' *xətxə 'autumn' *xavxa-'stone,rock' *xil-xil 'ice' *xitja-xitja 'stairs' *xiivə0- 'linger;to lag behind' *xpi- 'son;slve,servant' *xtin- 'good, fine'

*yaqala 'seagull'

*yəlxə- 'wolverine,fox'
*yəqpujXA 'handle,haft'
*yərxə- 'to put,to pile'

¥

109

#yinerx 'cloud'
#yinerven 'bay,shore'
#yuni-yuni 'whale'

7	č	e	ŋ	š	χ	a
ə	i	j	k	ı	1	m
n	n'	o	р	q	r	θ
	11	v	w	v	v	

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE NOSTRATIC FAMILY LANGUAGES: A PROBABILISTIC EVALUATION OF THE SIMILARITIES IN QUESTION*

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In order to establish a relationship between two or more languages, comparative linguistics employs the method of identifying morphemes, making distinctions between those with purely lexical, lexico-grammatical, word-formative and formative meanings. In situations in which the compared languages are sufficiently closely related, the relationship is clear from the large number of elements identified. It is further indicated by the existence of a series of systems in the compared languages consisting of morphemes identical in origin, i.e. systems of numerals, pronouns, substantive inflection, verb tense, etc. It is a different matter if the compared languages are assumed to be only distantly related; e.g. the initial linguistic system is separated from descendant systems by a significant period of time. In such cases, we should expect the loss of a significant portion of morphemes identical in origin. The final result of this process is the destruction of the old genetically identical systems of morphemes, and their replacement by new, noncomparable systems.

At the same time, if the relationship between the compared languages is not so distant that the elements identical in origin appear to have been completely displaced, one can expect that a definite, though very limited, number of the most stable linguistic elements in the initial linguistic base, which comprise the core of the morphological, word-formative and lexical systems of language, will be preserved in the descendant systems.

Such a situation can be observed in the comparison of [the six Nostratic families.] Despite sharp differences between the systems of the proto-languages of the Old World, on the proto-linguistic level, it is possible to detect a series of significant morphemic similarities, specifically in the composition of the most stable morphological, word-formative and lexical elements.

^{*}This article is the introduction to Opyt sravneniia nostraticheskikh iazykov (semitokhamitskii, kartvel'skii, indoevropeiskii, ural'skii, dravidiiskii, altaiskii), 2 vols. and vol. 3, part 1 to date (Moscow: Nauka, 1971-), vol. 1, 3-5.

On the other hand, when comparing two or more languages known to be unrelated (for example, artificially created languages) there will always be a certain percent of coincidental similarities between morphemes, and the higher the pecent, the less strict the criteria for formal and semantic similarities will be. Clearly, a special proof is necessary to show that the similarities found between compared languages are not accidental, but rather point to a distant linguistic relationship. Similar proof is obviously also desirable in studying the similarities between the six linguistic systems under consideration in the present work, e.g., the six proto-languages of the Old World, because the differences between them are so great that the supposed relationship could only be very distant. Toward this end, we propose the following method of evaluating the character of the similarities collected, which is not dependent on the procedures involved in their collection.

We shall examine the similarities between morphemes with lexical meanings that have no descriptive characteristics, and do not belong to any set of frequently borrowed lexicon. We will take the similarities between three pairs, made up of any three of the six proto-languages being compared, for example, between Indo-European and Uralic, Indo-European and Altaic, and Uralic and Altaic. On the basis of material taken from a comparative dictionary, these similarities are in quantities x v and z. Clearly, these similarities can be either unmotivated, that is, the result of coincidence, or motivated. In the latter case, they can only be taken to indicate a genetic relationship between each pair of compared proto-languages, since the two other sources of motivated similarity, i.e., borrowing and 'elementary relationship', have been eliminated due to the selection of the similarities. Let us presume that the given similarities are the result of coincidence. In this case, according to the theory of probability, a number of similarities, common to all three compared languages must be close to a number within the limits x to z. The actual number of triple similarities between Indo-European, Uralic, and Altaic is A. i.e. several times greater than expected. Conversely, if this number of triple similarities, A, is the result of coincidence, the number of coincidences between Indo-European and Uralic, Indo-European and Altaic, and Uralic and Altaic must be close to A. This figure is several times greater than the actual number of such coincidences. Thus, by virture of its own absolute size, it attests to the falsity of the initial premise. The reader can

make analogous calculations for four, five, and six of the six proto-languages under consideration; in each case, the actual number of similarities between three, four, five, and six compared proto-languages will be considerably greater than the size expected as a result of coincidence. Obviously, the distribution of similarities found cannot be explained as coincidence, but is motivated: such a distribution shows that the six proto-languages under consideration are linked by a linguistic relationship.

This conclusion could hardly be refuted by the assumption that, for a sufficiently distant period of time, one can postulate the borrowing of linguistic elements that are not usually borrowed in known languages: names of elementary actions, parts of the body, pronouns, several word-formative and morphological elements. The motivated character of the similarities in the six proto-languages in this case could be explained by borrowing. Actually, one can assume that individual elements from the above list of the most common elements in a linguistic structure were borrowed. But the examples given in this work show that in each proto-language there are dozens of elements covering all areas of linguistic structure that are similar to analogous elements in compared proto-languages. Moreover, despite the distant relationship of the six proto-languages, in the majority of the examples, several of the most stable systems of morphemes that are identical in origin are retained (primarily the systems of personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns and systems of substantive inflections). Borrowing on such a scale would practically signify the borrowing of an entire linguistic structure, and its transition to a new language. This brings us, once again, to the conclusion that the proto-languages in question are genetically related.

COMPARATIVE-PHONETIC TABLES Compiled by Vladimir Dybo

I. Nostratic Consonants

	RATIC inter-voc	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
p?-*		Р	b, b	Р	p-	p-	p?-
	-p?-	Р	Р	P	-pp-~-p-	-pp-~-v-	-p-~-b-
p-		P1	P ₁ (p~b) 1	p~b1	p-	p ₁ -(p-~v-)	p-
	-p-	P1	(p~b)1	p~b1	-p-	-pp-~-v-	-b-
b-		Ь	b	bh	p-	p-	b-
	-b-	ь	Ь	bh	-w-	-?**-~-v-	-b-
ţ-		t1(t)2	ţ	t	t-	t-	t?-
	-ţ-	t1(t)2	t1	t	-tt-~-t-3	-t(t)-3	-t-
t-		t	t	d	t-	t-	t-
	-t-	t	t	d	-t-	-t(t)-3	-d-3
d-		d	d	dh	t-	t-	d-
	-d-	d	d	dh	-8-	-ţ(ţ)-3	-d-
ķ-		q(k)2	ķ	k̂,k,k¥	k-	k-	k-
	-ķ-	q	k ¹	k̂,k,k¥	-kk-~-k-3	-k(k)-	-k-~-g-
k-		k	k	g,g,gu-	k-	k-	k-
	-k-	k	k	ĝ,g,g×-	-k-	-k(k)-	-g-
g-		9	g	ĝh,gh,g⊻h		k-	g-
	-g-	9	9	ĝh,gh,gXh	-y-	-:0-	-g-

^{*} The dash indicates the absence of a vowel in the given position.

^{**} Henceforward, the sign (?) denotes that the expected reflex is not determined for a given configuration.

¹ In Karty, and IE, the reflexes of Nostratic p are found to be unstable.

² In Afro-Asiatic, glottalization occurs regularly in non-lexical morphemes, roots containing p as the second consonant, and sporadically under other conditions still not clear.

³ The reflexes in post-consonant position are the same as in initial position

	RATIC	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
initial	inter-voc.						
5-		š	5	s	ś-	c-	5-
	-s-	χ'n	5	5	-5-	-cc-~-c-	-s-
ś-		>5	s ₁	s	5-	c-	s ₁ -
	-ś-			S	-s-	-?-~-c-	
š-		>6	š	5	š-		[s ₁ -]*
	-š-	X 9	š	5	-š-	-cc-~-?-	-s ₁ -
z-4		>5	z	5	5-	c-	ž-
	-z-4						

	ates RATIC inter-voc	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
ç-		ş	ç	sk,sk,skX	ś -	c-	[č-]*
	-ç-	ş	ç	-5-	-ś-	-c-	
c-		5	С	sk,sk,sky	ś-	c-	č-
	-c-						
_3-		z	3				ž-
	-3-						
φ -		ş		sk̂,[sk,sk¼]	ć-	c-	č-
	-¢-		Ç1	-5-	-ćć-	-cc-~-c-	-č+
ć-		5	c ₁	sk-,sk-	ć-	С	č-
	-ć-	5	c ₁	-5-	-ć-	-cc-~-c-	- č-

^{4 &}quot;The question of reconstructing a voiced sibilant corresponding to *\(\frac{1}{2}\) should probably remain open. Such a phoneme... appears in a few forms in Kartv. (=I). Only one has a correspondence in AA (where, as usual, we have \(\frac{1}{2}\)): Kartv. *mz1e 'sun' ~ AA *m\(\frac{1}{2}\), \(\frac{1}{2}\) in the author's material for a comparative grammar.)

^{*}In square brackets, probable but unattested reflexes are given.

	<u>ates</u> (c RATIC	ontinued)					
		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
initial	inter-v	OC.					
ź-		ģ	31			c-	ž-
	-ź-	ģ	31	-sd-(?)			
č-		ţ(>ș~ţ)	č	5t-	χ	c-	č-
	-ç-	ţ(>ș~ţ)	č	-5-	-čč-	-c-	-č-
č-		t		st-	č-		č-
	-č-	<u>t</u>	č		-s-	-č-	-č-
ž-		₫	ž	st-	č-		
	- <u>ž</u> -	₫			-č ₁ -		-ğ-~-d-

Laterals NOSTRATIC initial inter-voc.		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
š-		ś	š	s	š-(~š-)	c ₁ -	51-
	-š-	ś	š	5	?-ś-(~-š-)	-c-(?)	
λ-					8´-		d-(?)
	-λ-	1	1	1	-δ´-	- ţ ţ -~- ţ -	-1-

	Postvelars NOSTRATIC		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
1	nitial	inter-vo	ic.					
	ġ-		q	ģ	k̂,[k,¼k]	k-	k-	k-
		-ģ-	q	ģ	[k̂],k,[k½]	-kk-	-kk-~-k-	-k-
	q		Ь	q	[ĥ],h,[hỵ]	0-	0-;*	0-:
		-q-	Ь	q	Н	-k-	-k-	-k-~-g-
	-9-		ģ	Υ	[ĥ],h,h¼		Ø-:	Ø-:
		-9-	ģ	Υ	[ĥ],հ,հԱ	-γ-	-10-	-:0-

^{*} Here and below, the sign: denotes the lengthening of a vowel represented by the preceding dash.

Pharyngeals and Laryngeals	Pharyngea	is and Lar	<u>vngeals</u>
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NOSTR	ATIC	AA	Kartv.	1E	Uralic	Dray.	Altaic
initial	inter-voc.						
ή-		h		h			Ø-
	-µ-	h	χ	h			
?-		c	h>Ø			0-:	0-:
	-7-	c	h,Ø	ĥ	-k-(?)	-k-(?)	-:0-
?-		2	h>0	ĥ,h,[h⊻]	0-	0-	0-
	-?-	2	h,0	กิ,[h,h½]	-:0-		:0-
h-		h		ĥ,հ,[ħ炓]		Ø-:	
	-h-	h		กิ,h,[h½]			

NOSTRAT		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
IIIIII II	Itel-voc.						
j-		j -	j-,8-5	i-	j- ·	j-,0-5	j -
	-j-	j		i	j-	-j-	-j-
u-		w	w	ŭ	w-	v-,0 -	(b−?),0-
	-w-	w	w	×	- ω−	-v-	b,0,(v)
r-		r	r	r-	r-	n-	[1-?]
-	-r-	r	r	r	-r-	-r-,- <u>r</u> -6	-r-
-	-ŕ-	r	r	r	-r-	-ņ-	-4-
1-		1	1	1	1-	n-	1-
	-1-	1	1	1	-1-	-1-	-1-
1-		1	1	1	4-	t-	1-
	-}-	1	1	1	-1-	-1-	-1-
	-1-	1	-r-~:l-	-1-	-1-	-}-	-1-

⁵In Kartv. and Drav., -j- is lost before e, as is expected.

 $^{^6} In\ Drav.,\ r>\underline{r}$ in the position before the (now lost) Nostratic second-syllable front vowels.

Nasais NOSTRATIC initial inter-voc.		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
_m-		m	m	m	m-	m-	m-
	-m-	m	m	rn-	-m-	-m-	-m-
n-		n		n	n-	n-	
	-n-	n	n	n	-n-	- <u>ח</u> -,- <u>ח</u> -	-n-
ñ-					ñ-	n-	ń-
	-ñ-	n	m(?)	n	-ñ-	- <u>n</u> -,-tt-	-ń-
ń-		n		i,n-	ń-		ń-
	-ń-	n			-ń-	-ņ-(?)	-n-(?)

II. Nostratic Consonantal Clusters (with sonants⁷)

-rb-

-rb-

-Sb-(-rb-)

Sonants with Bilal NOSTRATIC		ilabials A A	Karty.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-CS-*	-SC-						
	-Sp-						
	-Sp-	-Sp-	-Sb~Sp-	-Lp-,Nb-		-Sp-	

-rp-

-rp-

-rb-

Sonants with Der NOSTRATIC -CS-* -SC-	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-Sţ-(-Nţ-)				-Nt-		-:t-(?)
-St-(-Nt-)				-Nt-		-d-(?)
-Sd-(-Nd-)			-Ndh-	-Nt-	-ņţ-	-nd-

⁷Laryngeals, pharyngeals, sibilants, and, possibly, sibilant affricates could form clusters not only with sonants, but also with stops in Nostratic; pharyngeals definitely formed clusters with both groups. However, our material is too scarce to be presented in a table format.

^{*} The following symbols are used in the table. C-consonant, S-sonant, N- nasal sonant, L-liquid sonant, : denotes lengthening of a preceding vowel

Nasals with Back Consonants

NOSTE	RATIC	AA	Karty.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-CS-*	-SC-						
	-nķ-		-nk-	-nk-	-ŋk-	-ńk-	-3-
	-nk-			-ng-	-ŋk-	-ńk+	
	-ng-	-m-	-m-	-ngh-	-ŋ-	-ńk-	-ŋ-

Liquids with Back Consonants

NOSTI		AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-CS-*	-sc-		-rk-	-rk-			
	-rk-	-rk-	-rg-		·		
	-Lg-	-Lg-	(*rg>)-rg-	-Lgh	-rk-(1y)	(rg>)-:r-	

Sonants with Postvelars

NOSTR	ATIC	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-CS-*	-SC-						
	-Sq	-S-q-	-Sġ-	-3k-	-5k-		-Sk-
	-Sq-	-S-ḫ-	-Sq-(?)	-S-H-	-5-	-55-	-:5-
	-89-	-S-ģ-	and the second	-Sy~yS-	-S-H-	-:S-	-:S-
	-:5-						

	ATIC -SC-	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-cs-	-3C-			1	1		
-ḥs		-h-S-		-H-S-		-S-	-S-
	-S-ḥ-	-S-ḥ	-Sχ-~χ-S-	-S-H-	-S-	-SS-(-S-)	-S-
-rs-		-r-s-	-:S	-H-S-	-:S-	-:S-	-:S-
	-57-	-S-C-	-S-				-:Sg-
-7\$-		-?-S-	-S-			-S-	-S-
	-57-	-5-?-	-S-	-S-H-		-5-	
-hS-		-h-S-		-H-S-	-S-	-:S-	-1S-
	-Sh-	-S-h-	-S-		-:S-	-:S-	-:S-

Clusters containing j and w. NOSTRATIC

NOSTRATIC	AA	Kartv.	IE	Uralic	Drav.	Altaic
-cssc-						
-jw-			(k)-u-	-jw-	-v-	-√j-b
	(j)-1-		(R)-1-		-:1-	-Vj-1-
jr-	(j)-r-		(k)-r-		-iŭ-	-Vj-r-
-rj-	-r-j-		-r-	-rj-	-10-	-:r-
-jn-	(j)-n-		(k)-ń-(>j,n)	-jn-		
-jñ-			(k)-n-(<ń ?)	-jñ-	-:n-	
-wd-	(w)-d-		-y-dh-	-w8-	-: ţ-	

III. Nostratic vowels of a first syllable.

a) East Nostratic Vocalism

 East Nostratic	Uralic	Dravidian	Altaic
* a	а	а	a
*0	0	o/a	0
*u	ŭ	u	u
*ä	ä	a	ä
*e	е	e	e
*i	i	i	i
*ü	ü	u	ü/ö

b) Nostratic vocalism as reflected in the West Nostratic languages.

Nost- ratic	East Nostratio	Afro- : Asiatic	Kartvelian	Indo CVC	- Euro KV(C)	pean CVS_
a	а	CC	a,c ~0	C-C8	K-(C)	C-S
0	0	CwC~CC-8	we,wa~(u)	C-y-C	KM-(C)	C-S
u	u	CwC~CC-	we,wa>o ~u (>0)	C-y-C	KÄ-(C)	C-S
ä	ä	CjC~CC-		C-i-C	k−(C)	C-S
e	е	CjC~CC−		C-j-C	Ŕ-(C)	C-S
i	1	CjC~CC-		C-1-C	ƙ−(C)	C-S
ü	ü	CwC~CC-		C-u-C	KÄ-(C)	c-s

⁸ In IE the dash denotes the members of the alternating row (e or o or \emptyset), distributed according to the rules of the Indo-European stem. In Afro-Asiatic the dash denotes the spreading of the original root.

THREE ENTRIES FROM THE NOSTRATIC DICTIONARY''

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8. bar 1 'to take': Afro-Asiatic br- 'to seize, catch' ~ IE bher- 'to take, bring, carry' ~ ? Dravidian per- 'to pick up, gather' ~ Altaic bar 1- 'to take into one's hands'.

AA || Semitic: Akkadian (Babylonian) b'r (pret. -bār) to catch, bā'iru fisherman probably a secondary development from original *br, cf. Mehri, Shawri btr (< *t-br) to fish (the r in Soqotri brr to fish is probably secondary; cf Leslau JAOS 82.2) || Berber: Tuareg aber (pret. -uber) to seize by the handful; -b- < *-bb- < *w-b, cf. Taureg e-hāre goods, property, cattle without prefixal w, which caused gemination and preservation of -b- (in e-hāre, h < *-b-with weakining, as in those cases described by Beguinot RANL 33, 186-199) || Cushitic *brj: Beja bari to get, gather, have control'; Saho (Irob, see Plazikowski-Wagner ZDMG 103, 381) bar- 'to seize, hold', Afar (Tajurah, see Lucas JSAfr 5, 198) ber- 'to carry away'. || Chadic: Ngala (the Kotoko group) birre 'seize'. Cf. Rössler Oriens 17, 215.

IE || OI bhanati, Avestan banaiti 'he carries'; OI bhanas a catch' || Arm. benem 'I carry, bring' || Phrygian ab-benet 'he brings' || Greek φερω I carry (Mycenean 3rd sg. pres. penne, see Morpurgo 240) || Albanian bie (< *bhenō, cf. the imperative bienë) 'I carry, bring' || Latin, Oscan fenn 'to carry || OIr. biru 'I carry || Gothic bainan 'to carry, bring' || OCS beno (inf. banati) 'I take' || Toch. AB pann 'to

^{*}The entries are from volume 1 of Nostratic Dictionary (Opyt sravneniia nostraticheskikh fazykov (semitokhamitskii, kartvel'skii, indoevropeiskii ural'skii, dravidiiskii, altaiskii), vol 1 (Moscow Nauka 1971)} The translation for entries 8 and 32 was first published in General Linguistics 27 1 (1987) 36-7 For references, see Nostratic Dictionary vol 1 107-46

bring, carry'. Cf. Pok. 128-132 (Pokorny's formations with the meaning to give birth to, descendants' represent an originally different root — see #32). In light of external comparison, the meaning 'take' in Slavic, usually considered an innovation is revealed to be archaic. From this meaning the IE 'bring' \rightarrow 'carry' most likely developed.

? Dravidian: 'pick up. gather' || SDrav. *perukk-: Tamil Malayalam perukku, Toda perk, Kodagu por'ik- || Telugu pezipi, pežžu || CentralDrav.: Kolami petk-, Najki pett-, Parji ped-, Gadaba (Salur) piž-, Gondi (Adilabad) per-, Konda per-, Kui pebg- (< *peg-b-) || Kurux pes- || See Burrow-Emeneau, 393.

Altaic || Turkic *bary-: OTurkic, OUygur barym 'property' — Azerbaidzhan baryn-, (Gazax) barym- 'to derive profit, obtain advantage'; OTurkish (TS 2,104) baryn- 'obtain for oneself means for existence', Turkish (Edirne) bary- 'to worry, to guard'; MHung. barom, OHung. barum 'cattle' (← 'property') borrowed from OBulgar (Gombocz BTL40-41) || Mong. 'take with the hands, seize' (and latter 'to present to') MidMong., Lit-Mong., Ordos, Khalkha bari-, Dagur bari-, Baoan vār-, Kalmyk bar'-; Moghul bari-; see Poppe Mong. 26. Zirni 89 || Cf. Ramstedt KW 38 (where, as in Ram. 56, there is the assumption of relationship between Mongolian words and Turkic *barŋak 'finger'); the semantic development in the Turkic languages was 'take' → 'obtain (property)'.

Cf. Ramstedt JSFOu 53 fn. 1, 23, Dolgopolsky 12 (IE \sim Alt.). The original meaning 'take' is preserved in Altaic, Dravidian and partly in IE. In Dravidian we apparently see the umlautization of *a > e in the first syllable, influenced by the loss of the front vowel of the second syllable in position after g (as in Drav. * \bar{e}_{g} - 'to rise' < *Horā, #116).

32. bvrv 'baby, child': Afro-Asiatic br 'child' ~ ? Kartvelian ber- 'child' ~ IE bber- 'child'.

AA || For Semitic names of a child we ought to reconstruct suppletive forms with r in the singular and n in the plural: sg. *bir 'son', *bir-t 'daughter' ~ pl. *bin m., bint f. The archaic correspondences are preserved in SArabic (OSArabic brw m.sg. ~ bn pl.; Shawri sg. ber m., birt f. ~ pl. ine. unt < *bne. *bnt; Mehri sg. ber m., bort f. ~ pl. bīt, bant) and Aramaic (Biblical Aramaic sg. m. bar ~ pl. constr. banī [actually baney]; Egyptian-Aramaic sg. m. br ~ pl. bn-: Mandaean sg bra m., brat f. ~ pl. bnia m., bnat f.; Urmian sg. bar m., bra f. ~ pl. bne). The form with -n- (plural by origin) is generalized in Canaanite (Ugaritic bn, OHeb. ben 'son'; Ugaritic bt, OHeb. bat 'daughter' < *bint) and Arabic (?ibn 'son', bint 'daughter'). It is probable that the Semitic verb *br- 'to give birth to' → 'to create' reflects a denominative formation (similarly, *bn; 'to create, build from *bin): OSArabic br? 'to build, do', Shawri buri, Mehri bīru (impf. -brow), Sogotri bere 'to give birth to'; Aramaic, OHeb. br? 'to create'; Akkadian *br-: (OBabylonian) baru (pret. -burru), (OAssyrian) buāru (pret. -būr) 'to appear, arise, be constant | Berber: Tuareg abarad boy, tabarat F. (< *-barad-t)</pre> 'girl' (*brt) || Cushitic: Saho (Irob) bāra, (Assaorta) bālā, Afar bālā 'child'; Sidamo (Moreno) beto, Darasa belti 'son' (Darasa belto 'daughter'); Haruru bušo, Kaffa bušō, Bworo (Beke) bušō (š < *-1t-). The proto-form in Cushitic was probably *brt (or *blt?), as in Berber, II CF, Reinisch Afar 829; Gesenius 113, 899, 103; Leslau (Sog.) 95. Moreno (Sid.) 208.

? Kartvelian: Zan: Chan bere (probably < *ber-ja-i with an archaic diminutive suffix and umlautization of the expected Zanian a < *e) 'child, son'; Megrel ber- as a component of the surnames Beria, Berija, Gigi-beria. || The suggestion (Chikobava, 19-20) that the Zanian form is borrowed from the Veynakh languages (North-Central

Caucasian) is hardly convincing (compare Chechen ber, Ingush ber, Bats bader 'child'). This hypothesis is challenged by the areal of the Zanian word (for the most part Chan, i.e., South Zan) as well as the relic quality of the Megrelian stem *ber-, supplanted by the transparent deverbative derivative of *šew- 'to give birth to' (Megrel skua 'son' < *m-šw-e; a different single stem derivative *šw-il in Zan carries a notion of endearment: Chan skir, Megrel skī-). Cf. Chikobava 21-22, Klimov 139, 217.

IE || Alb. bir (< *bhp-) 'son' || Olce. burr 'son'; Olce., OHG barn 'child' || OLit. bernas, Latv. bernas 'child' || In IE the stem *bher-child' was apparently contaminated with *bher- 'to take - to carry' (see #8). This contamination was facilitated by the possibility of a semantic shift 'to carry' -> 'to bear fruit, be pregnant' -> 'to give birth to', and is reflected in such forms as Arm. ber, Gk. φέρμα 'fruit', MIr. birit 'sow', Gmc. *beran 'to carry, bring' and 'produce, give birth to'. Cf. Pokorny 128-132 (where no attempt is made to separate stems with the meaning 'child' and 'carry').

Cf. Möller 34 (Semitic ~ IE), Trombetti 370. The Afro-Asiatic data indicate the originally nominal nature of the stem.

157. kamu 'to seize, to squeeze': AA km- 'to seize, take, squeeze' ~ IE gem- 'to seize, take, squeeze' ~ Uralic kama-1^ / koma-r^ (< *kamo-) 'handful': Dravidian kam^- 'to seize, take, hold' ~ Alt. kamu- 'to seize, take, squeeze'.

AA || Sem.: Akkad. kmj/w 'tie up (a captive, etc.)', kam-tu f. 'oppression, need'. An extension of original *km- is probably represented in Sem. *kmş (> qmş and kms with assimilation): Aramaic, Heb. qmş 'to take a handful', Akkad. (OBab.) kms, (Mid. Assyrian) kmş 'to gather, collect'; see further (*kmś ?) Arabic kmš 'to seize' / qmš 'to pick up', Akkad. kmš 'to gather'. See Soden AW

431. || Berber: Tuareg ekmem 'to squeeze', ekmu (preterit -kma) 'to cause suffering', met 'to gather' (*km-). || ? Central Cushitic: Xamir, Dembja, Avija kim 'personal property, cattle', Bilin kemā 'cattle', Kuara kemam 'to possess' (probably from 'to seize, to capture'); Sanije (S. Cushitic) kami 'to receive'. Cf. Reinisch Bil 220, Damman ZES 35,232. || Chadic *km: Hausa kāmá 'to catch': Musugeu kaw 'to seize'; Gidar gama, Masa čum 'to take'. || See Greenberg 61, Rössler ZAss 50, 133.

IE || Arm. čmlem 'I squeeze' (suffix -el, as in Celtic and Germanic: cf. Mann Arm.11). || Grk. (Homeric) γέντο 'he took, seized' (< *gem-to) || MIr. gemel 'fetters' || OSwd kumla 'to press (together)' || Lit. gùmulas 'lump', Ltv. gumt 'to seize, to attack', OCS žωμο (inf. žęti) 'I squeeze', Ukr. žmenja 'handful'. || See Pokorny 368-9.

Uralic | Finnish kahmalo (and with metathesis kamahlo). Vepsian kahmol, Livonian komal 'handful from two palms'. In the majority of Balto-Finnic languages we have a secondary -h- which possibly developed in connection with a change in archaic auslaut, as in the structurally analogous Fin. ahmu < *amo (See Dict. #124) and which is supported by analogy with the stem kahte- 'two'. A more archaic form is most likely preserved in Fin. dial. kamalo, Estonian kamal Saami (Northern) goabmer 'handful' || Mordvin (Moksha) komâr, (Erzja) komoro 'full handful' | ? Komi kamyr 'full handful' (the preservation of *a, as in a number of other instances in Permic, cf. Lytkin 176-177) | Samoyed: Enets xammara 'hand' | Cf. SKES 140. Collinder 22, Setälä JSFOu 305,54. The correlation of *a vocalism in Balto-Finnic, *o in Mordvin and Saami indicates an original form with labial *-o in the second syllable which in some languages caused labialization of the root *a during the period when similar structures were eliminated (cf. Dict. #124, #281).

? Dravidian || Telugu kamucu 'to hold, seize' || Malto (Droese) kam- 'to gather (one by one)', kamj- 'to earn' || These formations probably

should be separated (in spite of DED 94, Krishnamurti 325) from Drav. kava- 'to seize' (see Dict. #190), especially in view of the Malto data, where the transition of -v- > -m- is not seen.

Altaic || Turkic *Kam-a-, *Kam-ty: Uighur qama- take prisoner, surround; Kirghiz kama- to surround, to arrest, Karakalpak., Tatar kama- to drive into a pen, to surround; Karakalpak. Nogai kamty- to seize, grab || Writ.Mong. quamu-, Khalkha, Kalmyk xamă- to gather, pick up'. Mong. *qam-tu 'together' (see Poppe Mong. 102) apparently belongs here < 'gathered together' (adj. in -tu; for the semantics of below the Orok forms) || Tung. *kama- / *kamu-: Nanaj kama-le-to press onto, to forbid', Olcha kama-lu- to forbid', kama-l\u00e4u- to press', Orok kamu-i- to take into one's arms, to enclose together' (cf. kamu-r 'into one pile'); Evenki kama- to refuse help; to oppress', Even kam- to grate one's teeth || ? Korean kam- to close (one's eyes)' (< to squeeze'; otherwise Ramstedt SKE 91) || See Malov PDP 410, Ramstedt KW 164, Vasilevich 190. Mong. and Tung. (Orok) indicate Altaic *kamu- (Tung. *kama-, perhaps, is the result of secondary assimilation). The original meanings are to seize, take, squeeze'.

Cf. Illich-Svitych PSG 25 (IE ~ Alt). AA, IE and Alt. reflect *k in anlaut. The vocalism of the first syllable *a is preserved in Uralic, Dravidian, and Altaic, and is supposed by IE data (velar *g-). Uralic and Altaic indicate a labial vowel in auslaut. Only derivative nominal forms of the archaic verbal stem are preserved in Uralic (with the semantic development 'that which seizes' > 'handful').

Translated by Mark Kaiser

A NOSTRATIC WORD LIST: RECONSTRUCTIONS BY V. ILLICH-SVITYCH

Translated and Arranged by Jim Parkinson

There are 607 Nostratic words in Illich-Svitych's foundation article 'Materials for a Comparative Dictionary of the Nostratic Languages' (1967), but only 378 words have yet been published in the Nostratic Dictionary volumes (1971-), and only eight beginning with r to z (or g). The Nostratic words from both sources are here combined and alphabetically sequenced; unreconstructed words from 'Materials' are included, with only three important words from other sources. In all, there are 977 entries, which comprise about 690 independent words.

In the tabulation below, the first of four columns, 'N. Dict.', gives the number locating the words in the Nostratic Dictionary. The I-S('67) column gives the page (between 330 and 373) and sequence on that page of Etimologiíà 1965 (published in 1967). The third and fourth columns give the Nostratic word, arranged in alphabetical order of phonemes (\land is last), and its English meaning.

Some examples:

N.Dict.	I-S('67) Word	Meaning	
[64	340-2 d/ä/w∧	to blow	
64	dEwHi	to shake, to blow	

This means 'd/ä/wh' (where the phonetic value labeled 'ä' is questionable) is the second entry on page 340 of Illich-Svitych's 1967 paper; it means "to blow" and corresponds to #64 in the Nostratic Dictionary. The next line has improved the phonemes of #64 to 'dEwHi' (Where E could stand for ä, e, or i; and H is an undetermined laryngeal or post-velar, such as h or q), and the definition has been elaborated.

N.Dict. I-S('67) Word Meaning

159 kurA (see karA) crane

This means kar \(\) is a more likely reconstruction than kur \(\).

[136 340- 7 [idä A (?itä) to eat

This entry indents '[' to mean idä is not a reconstruction, but a word from one of the Nostratic daughter languages (in this case Altaic [A]) with one or more cognates among the other branches. The translation, however, is that of the Nostratic root — ?itä in the Nostratic Dictionary (see #136) — not necessarily the same as the entry word's translation.

The definitions are refereed between the Nostratic Dictionary, Vol. 2, and Mark Kaiser (to be published), commonly preferring the latter, but sometimes modifying both. Some attempt to translate the Russian consistently has been made. Verbs are sometimes marked v.t., v.i., or v.t./i., to designate transitive and/or intransitive.

Note that words beginning with vowels are cited at the end (according to the Nostratic Dictionary, such words began with ?-, \S -, \S -, \S -, or \S - in Nostratic.) Note that the \S in Illich-Svitych's 1967 paper corresponds to \S in his Dictionary. Glottalized consonants are cited as k', q', c' etc., where Illich-Svitych had \S , \S , \S , etc.; Illich-Svitych's \S is given as \S ? For other phonetic symbols, see M. Kaiser's list in Reconstructing Languages and Cultures, \S , 175.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Altaic Α

AA - Afro-Asiatic (Hamito-Semitic)

D - Dravidian

ΙE - Indo-European

K - Kartvelian

U - Uralic

1p first person adj = adjective comp = comparative

conj = conjoining

deg = degree dem = demonstrative iter = iterative

f = female

fmt = formant freq = freqentative

int = internal

intens = intensifying pl.n = plural noun interr = interrogative pron = pronoun

loc = locative

n = noun

part = particle pers = personal

rel = relative

v = verb

CORRECTIONS TO KAISER'S (1989) LIST OF NOSTRATIC ROOTS

- 1. extremity not extremitiy; twice s.v. duλΛ
- 2. shiny not shiney; s.v. g11/H/A
- 3. °/e/bU not \(\setminus /e/bu \); s.v. \(\setminus /e/bu \)
- 4. #158 **kanp^ not #kanp∧; s.v. kamp∧
- not 169; s.v. koj/H/A 6. **Ķaŕä not **Kar'# [s.v.]. It is a typo in N. Dict.:

it should be #217 Kara

7. /k/uj/

5. 168

- 8. #200 **kErd^
- 9. 349
- 10. 'pus'
- 11. /ś/uj ^-

(not /kui/ [s.v.]

not #kErd∧; s.v. k∧rd∧

not 331; s.v. nair∧

not 'puss'; twice s.v. säj∧

not /śuj∧-; s.v. Suj∧

	[2	364-5	[bā- A {baHA}	to bind
1			baH1: (?)	wound(n.), pain(n.)
2			∧Hed	to tie to
	[3	366-4	ba/k³/Λ	to look
3			baK'a	Н
	[5	331-1	bal/g/A	to shine
4			bal?/u/	to swallow
5			balq'a	to scintillate
	[1?	331-7	bal∧	to be ill
6			balA	blind
		349-11	[ban- K	to wash
	[30	364-2	$band \land \{b \land nt' \land \}$	to bind
7			bara	big, good
8			bari	to take
	[8]	332-2	bar∧	41
		358-14	ba/ś/A	to make small
		363-4	b/ä/1/	bright / light
		337-6	bäńg∧	head
9			berg/i/	high
10)		be/rH/u	to give
	[10?	338-9	ber∧	16
1	1		biĆa	small
12	2	369-6	bič'∧	to break
	[4	336-1	bily/ {balf/u/}	throat
13	3		bilwi	cloud
	[13	351-12	bil(w)∧	II
	[14	345-9	bilA	to scream
1.	4		biíA	II .
		369-4	bir∧	to flow
		340-13	biš∧	bile / gall
1	5		bok/a/	to flee (run away)
	[15	330-2	b/o/k/	to run
1	6		bol?i	to grow (of plants)

N.Dict.	I-S('67)) Word	Meaning
[16	347-6	bolA	leaf
17		bongä	thick, to swell
[17	333-6	bonk³∧	to swell
18		boŕa	brown, grey-brown
22		bor(H)∧ {see	bur(H)∧} porous soil, dust
[18	332-11	borj∧	brown
	332-5	b/o/rw/	beam
[24	344-1	bor∧-	to boil
[25	345-13	[br AA	blood
(cf.5)	362-16	[brk'- K	to scintillate
19		buHi	to grow up, to arise
[19	333-2	bu/H/∧	to be
	336-11	bu/k³//	to bend (v.t./i.)
20		bul∧	sediment, lees, turbidity
	366-3	bul∧	to mix
21		bura	to bore
[23	332-12	$bur(g) \wedge$	storm
22		bur(H)∧	porous soil, dust
[22	358-10	bur∧	dust
23		bur∧	snow (sand) storm
[26	342-5	bur∧	to cover (from light)
[21	363-1	bur∧	to bore
24		buŕa	to boil (v.i.), to seethe
25		bük'a	to bend (v.t.), bent
26		büri	to cover
27		-b∧ (?)	suffix in names of wild animals
28	348-10	Ь∧9∧	sufficient, excessive
29	340-1	b∧1H∧	to blow, to inflate (v.t.)
30		b∧nt'∧	to bind
	332-6	b∧rd∧	ford
31		bΛrKΛ	knee
32	361-9	b∧r∧	child

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
33		calu	to split, to cut
[33	360-2	calA	to split
[47	372-13	/c/ar∧	rough
	354-8	/c/olm/	Гоор
35		cor∧ {see cur∧}	to drip
34		cujḥ∧	thorn / prickly plant
[34	372-14	/c/uj(H)∧	thorn
35		cur∧	to drip
[35	343-12	c/u/r/	н
	330-8	[cutt∧ D	to beat
36	357-3	c∧t∧ (?)	to cover, put on
			(clothes) / sheild
37		c'äjḥa	to twinkle
[37	348-6	c'(ä)j∧	н
[53	360-11	c'ar∧	to cut
[40	367-9	c'ur∧	herd .
	370-6	c'∧m∧	to maim
[54	368-15	c'∧m∧	harsh(of taste)/astringent
	372-3	c'∧r∧	over / across
38	337-2	c'∧w∧ (?)	to scream, to talk
39		Cali	to tie around, to tie to
40		Cur∧	herd (of wild animals)
41		ćap'a	to beat, to chop
[41	361-13	/ć/ap'∧	to chop
[44	358-1	/ć/el∧	to jump
42		ćin∧	to know
	343-13	/ć/ip'∧	to drip
	360-4	ćit∧	to split
	363-2	ćohr∧	bright / light
43		ćuH∧	to look
	369-2	ćur∧	to flow
[49	345-7	/ć/ymp∧	crooked, bent
[42	343-3	ćΛnΛ	to know
[43	367-12	ćΛωΛ	to guard

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	344-6	ć'ab∧	glue
44		ć'el∧	to jump
	341-3	ć'ΛωΛ	to burn
45		Ća	adj. and dim. formant
46		ĆaK'∧	to tickle
47		Ćar∧	hardened crust
48		−Ći	fmt, of freq. and iter, verbs
49		Ćimpa	curved, bent
[58	373-1	/č/a1/H//	wide
	335-6	[č∕i/ŋkä− U	to stick into
50		čiru	pus, slush
[50	336-6	čirA	to rot
	344-9	[čoky- A	to stab
	331-14	[čŏk(∧) A	great/big
[51	340-3	čun/k//	smoke
51		čüng∧	to smell (v.t.), odor
52		č'Ad∧	to beat
53		č'Ar∧	to cut
54		č'äm∧	harsh (of taste)/astringent
55	361-2	č'ik'^	to cut
56		č'ir∧	to look after, to guard
57		č'ΛγmΛ	to eat
[56	342-1	č'ArA	to care
[53	353-2	č'^r^	point
58		ČalHa	wide
59		da.	loc. part.
60		ЛНер	intens. and conj. part.
[61	331-3	dak∧	near
61		daKa	nearby
62		dalq/u/	wave(n)
63		danga	to cover
[63	355-13	dang∧	0
[64	340-2	d/ä/w∧	to blow

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
64		dEwHi	to shake, to blow
65		-di	suffix of past tense forms
66		did∧	big
67		diga	fish
[67	362-8	dig∧	"
[75	344-3	d/i/y/	to put
68		dila	sunlight
[68	366-11	dilA	sun
69	342-15	diq∧	soil
70		dIga	bright / light
71		duli	fire
[71	352-6	du1A	u
[74	336-3	du1∧ (?)	deaf
72	352-11	duλΛ	extremity
[73	349-2	dung∧	to keep silence
	352-1	dur∧	to cheat
73		dünga	to be calm, keep silence
74		dUr∧ (?)	deaf
75		A2VP	to put
76		d∧w∧	to be ill, to die
[76	365-6	dΛωΛ	(physical) weakness
	364-7	[გეგ/გ/ლე ი	spleen
		200, 0, 000	5 F 7 G 6 T 1 T T T T T T T T T T
[77	356-9	[ga- A	to receive
77		ga(HA)	to take, to receive
78		gara	throny branch, thorn
[78	369-10	gar∧	to protrude
79		gändu	male
[79	362-13	gänd∧	11
[82	342-8	g/ä/r^	dawn
80		gäti	hand / arm
81		gedi (?)	nape of the neck
[81	342-2	ged∧	back
<u> </u>	346-6	gep'∧	light (weight)
		9-F	

00	5 /1 /	
82	gE/hr/a	dawn
[84 330-11	gil(H) A	to shine
83	gil∧	sickly state, grief
[83 331-8	gil∧	to be ill
84	gi/ł/ḥu	smooth and shiny
[83? 337-10	[glow- K	grief
[87 358-12	gob∧	plain (level)
85	goHj∧	sunlight, redness of sky/dawn
88	go?rA	to look for
[90 330-1	gojr∧	antelope
[85 342-7	goj∧	dawn
[167 349-3	g/o/j∧ (?) {koja}	moth
86	golH∧	heart
[94 343-14	golA	to roll
87	gop'a	hollow, empty
[95 337-15	g/o/r̂^	to burn
[84 335-12	guł∧	smooth
89	gu/nH/i	to think (about)
[89 339-12	g/u/n/	to think (deeply)
352-3	gun∧	to chop off
[92 336-8	gup∧	to bend (v.t/i)
[87 358-7	gup'∧	empty
90	gurHa	antelope, male antelope
91	gur∧	to swallow
[91 335-15	gur∧	throat
[239 341-11	gül∧	dwelling
92	güpA	to bend (v.t/i)
93	gUjRä	wild (beast)
94	gUl'A	round, ball
95	gUr∧	burning coals / embers
[94 372-6	g^1^	skull
[86 364-9	g/\w/1\	heart
96	galpa (?)	weak, feeble
		,

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
97		gark'u (?)	to bend (v.i.)
	345-8	gor∧	to scream
	364-1	gud∧	to bind
98		guru	to flow, to pour
[98	341-6	gur∧	fluidity
[96	365-8	/g//1p/	weak
99		g∧m∧	darkness, night
[99	368-12	g∧m∧	dark
[97	336-10	g/rk³/	to bend/be bent (v.t/i)
	363-5	g∧r∧	(wild) pig
[139	334-5	ya/k³/∧	water
[141	333-5	y/o/ź∧	branch
	352-14	y∧r∧	eagle
100		haw∧	to desire passionately
[100	340-12	h/a/w∧	to desire
	342-9	h/u/r∧	to conceive (a child)
101		ḥaj u	to live, vital force
[105	358-13	/ḥ/ang∧	to open (wide) / gape
[101	341-14	ḥuj∧	to live
	337-3	^ψ VmV	to talk
	360-8	[ḫls' (?) AA	to tear
102		Ha	to become / be
103		Haja	to chase / to pursue
104		Hal∧	forward edge
[123	354-11	/H/a1/	food
105		Hanga	to open one's mouth wide
[125	340-5	[HenH- IE	to breathe
106		Henka	to burn (v.i.)
107		Herä	to collapse
108		Herä	male
	359-9	[Herdh- (?) IE	to grow
	370-15	[Heus- IE	ear

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
			-
109		H/E/mi	to suck, to swallow
110		HEnP∧ (?)	navel
111		Hi	part, indicating past tense
	340-9	/H/ind/	heat
112		Hirá	to drag, to pull
[118	333-8	/H/o/k [,] //	to see
113		HoK'i	point
114		Homśa	meat
115		HonĆa (?)	end, edge
116		Horä	to rise
117		Hos∧ (?)	ash tree
[343	352-8	/H/ot'∧ {qot'i}	fire
118		HuK'a	eye, to see
119		Huwa	flowing waters
120		Hüt∧ (?)	rest period
[110	358-5	[Ĥenbh- IE	navel
121		?a	that, dem. pron. for a
			distant object
122		?a	fmt. of verbal constructions
123		?ala	food
124		?amu	morning, daylight
125		?anq∧	to breathe
126		?arba (?)	to practice witchcraft
127		?aSa	fire
128		?äla	part. of categorical negation
[134		?e (?) {see ?i}	demonstrative pronoun
129		?e	negative particle
130		?ej∧	to come
131		?e1A	to live
132		?esA	to settle at a place (of
			nomads), to be at a place
133		?Em∧	to seize, to take
134		?i	this, dem. pron. for a
			nearby object

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
· · ·			
135		?ili	deer
136		?itä	to eat
[135	352-12	[?jl AA	deer
137		ΛÌεʔ	to cross (a mountain)
138		°/e/bu	female breast
139		ŶĔĸ'u	water
140		SVTV (3)	to burn (an offering) to ashes
141		۲۸ź۸	branch
142		ja	which, interr. and rel. pron.
143		j aHU	to bandage, to gird
144		jam∧ (?)	water
[144	349-4	jam∧	sea
145	364-17	jar∧ (?)	to shine (flash)
146		jAn∧	to talk
[143	356-13	jä/H/∧	belt, girdle
	346-7	jän/k/∧	ice
[147	350-11	jän/t/∧	to stretch
147		jänT∧ (?)	to stretch, to draw out
[130	357-4	je(H∧)	to come
148		jela	bright / light
[148	362-17	jel∧	to scintillate
149		-jE	formant of optative
143		joH∧ {see jaHU}	to bandage, to gird
	347-8	ju/k/∧	to pour
150		-j∧	suffix of denominal and
			deverbative adjectives
151		-j∧	dimendearing suffix of
			nouns used in addressing
152		-j(∧)	affix of obl. form of pl.n.'s
153		i∧- (?)	fmt, of the comp, deg.
[181	330-4	[kače-	to run
154		kala (?)	vessel
[156	337-7	kalj∧	bare
155		kal∧	fish

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
156		kaĺ∧	to peel, to skin
[156	354-13	/k/aĺΛ	film
	372-12	[kama- U	husk
[158	338-6	kamp∧	lip
157		kamu	to seize, to squeeze
[157	370-16	kam∧	to seize
158		kanp∧	soft outgrowth (e.g. mushroom)
	332-1	kant∧	to take
159		kar∧	crane (bird)
[80	362-4	k/ä/č∧ {gäti}	hand / arm
160		käjw∧	to chew
161		kä/lH/∧	to go, to wander
162		kälU	female relative by marriage
[161	332-7	käl∧	ford
[162	363-7	käl∧	female relative by marriage
	368-10	[kämä U	hard
[160	340-10	käw∧	to chew
	361-1	kert∧	to cut
163		kEN/	to know'
164	354-9	k/iH/∧	to sing
[163	343-2	kin∧	to know
165		kirH∧ (?)	old
[165	367-10	kir∧	u .
166		kiwi	stone
[166	343-10	kiw∧	11
[183	335-7	$/k/og(\Lambda)$	to track / follow
167		koja	moth, caterpillar
[169	345-2	koja (?)	crust / bark / rind
168		kojHa	fat (adj.), healthy
169		kojHa (?)	skin, rind
[168	341-12	koj/H/∧	fat (n.)
170	330-5	kojw/a/	birch
[170	330-5	kojw∧	n
_			

to skin, to peel

[171 351-11 kolA

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
171		koλΛ (?)	to skin
	356-3	komt³∧	small cover (of vessels)
	356-11	k/o/nd∧ (?)	to spoil
	370-7	k/o/ń/g/Λ	depth (hollow of
			armpits)
172		kor∧	anger, mental suffering
173		k0ŕi	lamb, sheep
[217	345-1	[kõre U	crust / bark / rind
[237	345-12	[kreu(H)- IE	blood
[174	363-6	kud∧	male relative by marriage
[161?	332-8	[k'uly A	to wander
[176	371-8	kul∧	cold
[179	372-1	kuł∧	worm
[184	352-13	[kuma- U	to turn over
	362-11	/k/um∧	crumbly / porous
[178	340-14	k/u/n∧	woman
	358-4	[kupla U	bubble
[185	335-11	ku/p/s∧	to burn out
[159	341-15	[kurke U {cf. γ∧	
159		kur∧ {see kar∧}	11
[186	362-15	[ku/ś/e- U	to fall down
174		küda	male relative by marriage
[187	370-1	[/k/üdä− A	fog / mist
175		küjñA (?)	to bend at the joints,
			bone flexion
[175	368-5	[küjña- U	joint
176		külA	to freeze, cold (n.)
177		küłä	lake, small reservoir
178		küni	wife, woman
179		kUł∧	snake, worm
[224	346-10	k/y/č'∧	summer
180		$k\Lambda m\Lambda$ (?)	biting insect
181		Kač∧ (?)	to struggle forward
182		Kej∧	to do

N.	Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
18	3		Koki (?)	to track, to watch
18	4		Kumä	overturned
18	5		KuPśa	to burn out(v.i.),to extinguish
18	6		Ku/s/i (?)	to fall
18	7		KünTÄ (?)	fog / mist
18	8		Küt'∧	to bind
18	9		-k'a	diminutive suffix of n.'s
19	0		k'aba	to seize
	[219	345-5	/k'/ac'∧	bone
19	1		k'ać∧	man, youth
19	2		k'ad∧	to interweave (wicker)
	[192	368-1	k'ad∧	to build
19	3		k'aHP∧	to chop, to dig
	[191	349-9	k'ajć'∧	(young) man
	[209	362-9	/k'/ajw∧	to dig out
	[210	335-8	/k'/a1/	high
	[208	341-1	/k'/a1/	to burn
19	4		k'aλa	to leave(v.i/t), to abandon
	[194	352-15	k'aλ∧	to abandon
	[211	361-8	/k'/a/n/Λ	to give birth to
19	0		k'apa (see k'aba)	to seize
	[195	366-14	/k'/ap'∧	vessel
	[212	356-1	/k'/ap'∧	to cover
	[190	371-1	/k'/ap'∧	to seize
	[193	362-2	k'a/p'/∧	to chop
19	5		k'ap'∧	nape of the neck, head
	[214	334-1	k'ar(w)∧	viscera (internal organs)
	[215	353-9	k'ar∧	hear th
	[213	372-7	/k'/ar∧	black
	[218	372-8	/k'/aš∧	to scratch
19	6		k'äćä	to cut
	[196	360-10	k'/ä/ć∧	и
	[222	344-13	/k'/äp'∧	hoof
19	7	363-9	k'är∧	to tie (tightly)

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
[221	336-14	[kʻelä- A	to talk
198		k'el∧	to be insufficient
[198	351-8	k'el∧	necessary
[226	346-5	/k'/eñ∧	light (weight)
199		k'erjä	to scream
[199	342-11	/k'/erj∧	to call
[217	344-15	/k'/er∧	crust / bark / rind
[225	353-13	/k'/et∧	to fall
200		k'Erd∧	chest, heart
[228	334-10	/k'/il(k)∧	(thick) hair
[229	364-8	/k³/in∧	to be angry
	348-3	/k'/ir(H)∧	crown (of a head)
[231	365-5	/k'/ir∧	to scrape
[230	343-9	/k'i/r∧	hoarfrost
201		k'/o/	post-positional intensifying
			and conjoining particle
[241	345-3	/k'/o/c'//	box
[155	362-7	k'o1∧	fish
202	345-15	k'oĺ∧	round
[177	352-10	/k³/oł∧	lake
[242	355-9	/k'/om∧	to devour
[173	373-5	k'or∧	lamb
	360-12	k'o∕t'/∧	to cut
203		k'udi	tail
[203	371-6	k'ud∧	U
[238	334-7	k'ujn∧	wolf
[233	355-11	/k³/uj∧	to (stay at) rest
[239	361-4	/k³/u/1//	clan
[235	351-9	/k³/ul^	to collapse
204		k'u\a	secret (adj.), to steal
[204	368-7	k'uλΛ	secret
	346-1	k'/u/n∧	marten (zool.)
[243	346-3	k'/u/p∧	heap
[240	354-4	/k³/up³∧	to foam
			143

N.Dict.	I-S('67)) Word	Meaning
[234	338-4	/k'/ur/	to gnaw (of insects)
[244	345-4	/k'/ur∧	short
[344	353-1	$/k'/ur\Lambda \{q'ur\Lambda\}$	point
[236	365-4	/k'/ur∧	to fasten
205	348-4	k'ut'∧	small
	346-2	k'AbA	to bite
[200	364-10	k'∧rd∧	heart
206		k'∧rp∧ (?)	to gather fruit
207		K'a	part, inciting to action
			(with verbal forms)
208		K'ajla	hot, to burn (v.t.)
209		K'ajw∧	to dig
210		K'aLi	to raise, to rise
211		K'an∧	to give birth to, be born
212		K'ap'a	to shut, to cover
213		K'ar/ä/	black, dark-colored
214		K'arb/i/	abdomen, viscera/int. organs
215		K'ar∧	to burn (v.t.),to scorch(v.t.)
216		K'ar∧	rock formation (e.g.
			cliff), steep elevation
217		K'aŕä	bark(n.) / crust / rind
218		K'aš∕∧	to scrape, to scratch
219		K'aS∧	bone
220		K'awing∧	armpit / underarm
221		K'a/1H/a	tongue
222		K'äp'ä	bam
223		K'e	who
224		K'Eča	summer heat
225		K'et∧	to fall
226		K'EñU	empty, light (weight)
227		K'Er∧	horn
228		K'ila	stem / stalk, hair
229		K'in/u/	to be angry, to be jealous
230		K'ir∧	hoarfrost

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
231		K'ir∧	to scrape
232		K'o	who
233		K'oja	to (stay at) rest
234		K'or∧	to gnaw, worm
235		K'u1∧	to fall, to subside
236		K'urlA	to interweave, to bind
237		K'ur∧ (?)	blood
238		K'üjnA	wolf, dog
239		K'ülä	community, clan
240		K'üpä	to $boil(v,i.)$, to swell up
241		K'Uć∧	wicker basket
242		K'Um∧	to swallow, to devour
243		K'U/p/a	heap
244		K'UrA	short
245		K'∧	directive particle
			-
246		-1/a/ (?)	suffix of collective n.'s
[262	371-3	lab∧	to seize
[263	331-9	la/H/m∧	swamp
247	346-11	lak'∧	to lick
[264	351-5	lamd∧	low
	355-3	lapt∧ {see lap∧}	flat
[256	355-3	lap∧	II .
	347-2	1/a/p/	to lick
[273	347-1	laš∧	п
[266	350-14	lawč∧	unfastened / loose
[267	347-7	läj∧	to pour
248		-18	suffix of denominative verbs
249		lAsL	to rub, to damage
	332-15	le	to be
[258	350-1	lejń∧	soft
250		1/e/p'A (?)	spleen
251		lewdä (?)	to search for, to find
[251	358-17	lewd∧	to search

252	lip'a	sticky
[252 347-4	•	
[270 347-5	·	fox
[268 351-10		to skin / to peel
[249 365-7	·	weak
[269 340-8	1ub∧	thirst
358-16		to destroy
367-4	•	to sleep
354	luńge	snow
[354 366-6	luńg∧	п
253	-1^	adjectival suffix
[271 346-8	1/g/	to lie (repose)
338-7	1/p/	lip
[265 341-8	1∧t²∧	fluidity
254	ĺama	to knead / mash, to soften
[254 371-11	ĺam∧	fragile
[255 351-6	łak∧	foot / leg
255	1/a/K'a	leg
256	łap'a	flat
356-2	łäp'∧ (?)	to cover
257	łA	locative particle
258	łejna	soft, weak
259	∤iwa	mud, silt
[259 338-5	liwH∧	mud
366-8	łok∧	to gather (-> to count)
[260 350-5	łon/k'/∧	to incline
260	łonK'a	to bend (v.t.)
[261 366-9	łu/k'∕∧	to poke (v.t.)
261	łük'∧	to pierce, to poke (v.t.)
262	Lab∧	to seize, to get
263	LaHm/u/	swamp
264	Lamd/i/	low, lowland
265	L/a/t'∧	moist
266	Lawša	weak, limp

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
267		L/ä/j∧	water, to pour (flow)
268		Lop'∧ (?)	peeled bark / rind, thin layer of plant material
269		Lub∧	to feel thirsty
270		Luk³A	small carnivore
271		L∧ga	to lie (repose)
272		LΛḥΛ (?)	to be ill
273		L∧š∧	to lick
274		λa/mH/u	bird-cherry (tree)
[274	372-5	λο/mH/Λ	н
275		magu	bad
	342-14	magA	soil / earth
[280	331-13	mag∧	big
355		maHj/e/	to swing, to shake, to
		-	wave (rock)
356		maHj∧	to lose strength, to weaken;
			to disappear, to perish
[276	339-6	[maj/8/â U	tree
276	348-5	majλΛ	honey, sweet sap from trees
277		majr∧	young male
278		malA	numerous, abundant
[278	331-12	malΛ	big
279		mana	to discontinue / stop,
			to detain (v.t.)
280		manga	strong, firm
281		manu	to think (about)
[279	357-1	man∧	to stop
[281	339-10	m/a/n/	to think (about)
[292	349-7	[man D	man
282		marja	berry
[282	373-6	$mar(j) \wedge$	u
283	339-5	mar∧	tree
[277	373-4	mar∧	youth
			3

N.DICt.	1-3(0/)	WOLU	Meaning
[288	358-11	m/a/r/	spot
284		mA	fmt. with nominal function
			in relative constructions
285		-mA	suffix formant of the
			marked direct object
286		mALA	mountain
287		mAn∧	to remain in place,
			stand firmly
288		mAr∧	spot, dirty
289		mä	we, personal pronoun: 1st
			person plural inclusive
290		mä	prohibitive particle
[294	334-3	m/äḥ/ř∧	water
	371-7	mäk∧	hill
291		mälgi (?)	breast, udder
[291	338-3	mälg∧	breast
292		män∧	man, male
[287	367-14	män∧	to stand
	350-4	mäń∧	to knead
293	331-5	m/ä/r/	to be ill, to die
294		mäŕä	moisture, damp
[297	353-12	mät∧	to sense
295		mene (?)	to step
[357	357-7	ment∧	to miss
357		men∧	to miss (the mark), to pass
			by, to be futile, in vain;
			reckless; false, lying
296		meŕ∧ (?)	fat(n.),to smear with
			grease / fat
297		me tA	to feel, to be / become
			conscious of
298		mEw∧	water
299		mi	I, pers. pron. :1p. sing.
300		mi	what

Meaning

N.Dict. I-S('67) Word

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word

Meaning

348_	11 mil∧ (?)	t (t- C-d)
301	mińä	to pray (to God)
		woman, female relative
[301 363-		(younger) f. rel. by marriage
[304 349-		to wash
[302 359-		to rub small
302	maL/	to break / smash to pieces
348-		m/o/n/) much
[280 348-		
303	mu	dem. pron.: this / that
304	muc'A	to wash
[305 350-		(bodily) deficiency
305	muČ∧	spoilage, shortage
306	muda	to end
358	munE (?)	defect, vice, deformity
[308 369-	13 mu(n)k'∧	labor
308	mu(n)K³∧	heavy, difficult
307	muña (?)	egg, testicle
[307 373-	9 muñ(d)∧	n , n
309	muri	to twist
310	mur∧	to break, to crush
[310 359-	10 mur∧	to rub small
345-	10 mur∧	to scream
[306 344-	·12 mut∧	to end
311	mUd∧	to think (about)
312 372-	2 m∧t³∧ (?)	worm
[298 334-	4 mΛωΛ	water
313	m∧/ź/∧	bright / light, sun
314	-n	suffix of the oblique forms
		of nouns and pronouns
	na	locative particle
339-	4 nahr∧	day
[331 349-	-8 najr∧	man
315	nat/o/	female relative by marriage
		S S

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
[315	361-6	nat∧	kinswoman
	357~2	n/äk'/∧	to chase (enemies)
[316	354-6	neqr∧	forehead
316		ne/rH/i	forehead, brow
317		nimi	name
[317	343-8	nim∧	п
[335	368-13	nu	now
	357-9	nur∧	to penetrate
	355-12	[nwḥ- AA	dead person
[334	335-3	/n/AgA	to stab
318		ńaΥrΛ	young, newborn
319		ńam∧	to squeeze, to sieze
	373-7	$ \text{ńan/g/} \wedge (?) $	tongue / language
320		ńara	fire, flame
[323	333-12	ńäč'∧	moist
321	350-2	ńäm∧	soft
[322	334-11	กลุกลุ	hair
322		ńä/wH/a (?)	п
323		ńäź∧ (?)	moist `
324		<ń>ida	to bind
[326	369-3	ńi(h)r∧	to flow
325		ńila	slippery and moist (of the
			inner layer of rind/skin)
[325	365-12	ńiιΛ	mucus
[318	349-1	ń/o/yr∧	young
326		ńohr∧	moist, to flow
(cf.325)	365-11	ńο/H/1Λ	muçus
[319	339-7	ńom∧	to hold
[326	333-13	ńοτΛ	moist
327		ńowda	to move quickly
[327	338-13	ńοωdΛ	to move
[328	369-9	ńukΛ	to pull
[329	347-3	ńul∧	to shed
[320	337-14	ńur∧	to burn

000		Z111 A	
328		ńük∧	to shake (v.t.), to pull at
329		ńü1Λ-	to pull out, to strip off
	364-6	[ńy8a- U	to bind
359		ñajgu-	to bow / bend, to curve,
			to droop / hang
	336-5	ñej∧	nit
[359	350-7	ñig∧ (?)	to be inclined
[330	355-10	ñik'a	cervical vertebra, neck
330		ñiK'a	13 3 11
331		NajR∧	man, male
332		NA	dem. pron.: this / that
333		-NA	suffix of pl. animate n.'s
334		NEg∧	to stab
360		Nuq/ü/	to bend, to curve, to
			rock, to lower / drop
335		Nüq∧	now ·
	353-8	[pač(A) A	to open
	347-11	pa/k'∕∧	to burst
361	368-4	paĺq∧	foot / sole
336		pa1∧ (?)	swamp
362		p/a/r/ä/	nail (of finger or toe)
	358-9	[pāry A	bee
	356-7	päł∧	mid (half)
363		/p/äs∧	root
[375	365-3	p/ek'// (?)	cattle
337		pelHi	to tremble, to be afraid
[337	331-15	pelA	to be afraid
364		per/e/	rind / skin / peel
	342-3	[per/s// U	back
[364	344-8		skin
[9		•	a/i/) high
_	344-7		
[340		•	to splash
20.0	338-1	,	to prepare (food)
		P	to proper a (1000)

/p/it/	to hold
[prd' AA	nail (of finger or toe)
[prs' AA	to tear
[pś- AA	to widen (?)
p/u/1/	swamp
[puna U	hair (?)
/p/unčE	body hair
[pu(n)8∧ U	scrotum
/p/u/ñ/a	hair, wool, feathers
purč $\Lambda(g\Lambda)$ (?)	flea
purg∧	п
pülč∧(9∧)(?) {see	flea
$purč\Lambda(g\Lambda)$ }	
P/ä/Hja (?)	pain
p'ad∧	to fall
p'aj/n/∧	to squeeze
p'alg∧	fortified settlement
p'a1/g//	settlement
p'aliHma	palm (of hands)
p'al∧	much / many
/p'/al/	tooth
p'aĺ∧	to burn
p'an∧	to put
p'a/rj/∧	to spread
p'ar∧	to fly
/p'/a/se	membrum virile
p'a∕ś/∧	penis
p'a t∧	(earthenware) vessel
p'at∧	foot
p'at'∧	wide
p'/ä/jl/	to fall
	hot
p'är/a/	to tear,to break,to split
	[prd' RA [prs' RA [ps- RA p/u/1\\ [puna U /p/unčE [pu(n)8\\ U /p/u/ñ/a purč\(g\)) (?) purg\\ pülč\((g\))(?) {see purč\(g\)) P/ä/Hja (?) p'ad\\ p'aj/n/\\ p'alg\\ p'al/g/\\ p'aliHma p'al\\ /p'/al\\ p'an\\ p'an\\ p'ar\\ /p'/a/se p'at\\

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	357-11	p'ed∧	to pierce (repeatedly)
[342	331-6	p'e/H/j∧	to be ill
373		/p'/eHńa	to shepherd / graze, to
			defend, to take care of
	366-7	p'en∧	dog
	345-6	p'er∧	edge
	361-7	p'er∧	to give birth to
	352-5	p'iγw∧	fire
[373	354-2	p'i/H/ń∧	to graze (v.t.)
	352-16	p'i/H/A	point
	372-16	p'il \	wide
	360-3	p'iĺA	to split
374		p'irk'∧	to ask, to request
[374	357-10	p'ir(k')∧	to ask
340		p'is∧	to splash
341		p'odqa (see p'ozqa)	hip
	360-9	p'oj∧	child
375		p'ok'we	cattle (or livestock)
	358-3	p'o/k'//	bubble
341		p'oǯqa	hip
	362-3	[p'u- K	to chop
[365		p'uč∧	hair, down (fine, thin)
	353-14	p'u/č//	to fall
	339-13	p'uy^	to blow
	343-15	p'u(H)j∧	to boil
	369-8	p'ul∧	poplar (tree)
	354-14	p'u/nj//	to weave (to plat)
	359-12	p'ur(j)∧	to rub small
	339-14	p'uś∧	to blow
	340-4	p'u∕t'/∧	hole
[339	330-7	[b,VuV	to beat
	351-4	'	under / below
376		qam∧ (?)	to seize

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	354-5	qant'∧	fore
	371-2	√deb	to seize
	343-6	q/a/t'∧	to go .
	342-10	∧mep	to defend
	362-5	qelA	hand / arm
	338-12	q/o/d/	to move
343		qot'i	to ignite, fire
377		qowe	opening
[377	353-6	Λwop	н
	357-12	qur∧	to pierce (repeatedly)
	354-3	q'ar∧	to smell (v.i.)
	350-8	q'im/H/A	to strain oneself
	371-9	q'i/ń/∧	cold
	366-1	q'/iw/l/	to hear
	370-5	q'o(H)1∧	to kill
	373-8	q'oĺ∧	testicle
	344-14	/q³/op/	crust / bark / rind
	345-11	q²u1∧	to scream
378		q'urE	to love '
[378	347-13	g'ur∧	п
344		q'ur∧	point, to cut
345		q'∧ (?)	part, with collective meaning
	372-10	q'^ĺ^	penis
	368-2	ra/k'/Λ	to build
	359-9	[rd- AA	to grow
346		rESA (?)	daylight
	349-12	[rhd AA	to wash
	362-10	row∧	to dia
	358-15	ru/ć/A	to destroy
	330-3	r/u/č'A	to run
	339-2	r∧g∧	to move
	334-8	rΛ(h)bΛ	emotion
	361-3	rΛkΛ	horn
	301 0	1.73873	1101 11

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word
IN.DICE.	1-3(0//	woru

Meaning

	373-2	r∧wḥ∧	wide
	356-8	sag∧	to receive
	366-10	[sakA- A	sap
	339-11	san∧	to think (about)
	336-7	säj∧	pus
	348-1	/sä/m/	to grease
[44	339-1	[sel- IE {ć'el/}	to move
	337-5	[sen- IE	year
	366-12	[sib∧- A	sun
	365-2	silA	slippery
	349-5	/s/ip∧	to drizzle
	341-9	/s/ir/	sinew
	345-14	[sisx-]- K	blood
	365-9	[sok∧- A	blind
	341-10	son/H/A	sinew
	357-8	sonk∧	to penetrate
	333-10	sul∧	moist
	351-1	/s/ul/	unfastened
	367-2	/s/und/	to dry
[51?	342-6	$sun(g) \Lambda$	odor
	348-7	sup'∧	to sweep
	337-1	[sŭra- A	to talk
	341-7	sΛwΛ	fluidity
347		SAIA	favorable
	368-6	śa/č/∧	to strew
	336-4	/ś/ajr∧	nit
	343-5	śal∧	willow
	342-4	śarn∧	invocation
	350-13	śel(k)∧	unfastened
	335-13	śem/H/∧	to swallow
	364-3	śid∧	to bind
	364-4	śi/H/∧	н
	348-2	śiwΛ	to smear (with clay)

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	342-13	śoj∧	to sound (loud)
	353-7	śο/λΗ/Λ	to be
			separated (from herds)
	357-6	/ś/ot∧	to curse
	336-12	[/ś/uj∧- U	to bend
	365-10	śulΛ	mucus
	370-8	śuλΛ	coals
	370-2	[ś/u/ŋk∧- U	heavy
	344-2	ś ∧1∧	gut
	366-2	ś∧m∧	to hear
	369-1	šar∧	to flow
348		šehŕa	to be awake
[348	331-4	šer∧	u .
	361-10	š/e/w∧	to give birth to
	366-5	šing∧	snow
	366-15	širw∧	to dry
	369-11	[šm- AA	grass
	355-2	[šmk' AA	shoulder
	367-5	[šp(ω)	to sleep
	350-10	š/u/d∧	violence
	369-7	šup∧	thin
	367-1	šu/š/Λ	to dry
	371-10	šuw∧	good
	358-6	šΛωΛ	to allow
	364-11	[šüốam U	heart
	354-10	šΛrpΛ	to drink
	361-5	ta/H/j∧ (?)	kinsman
	355-7	ta/k³/Λ	suitable
	369-14	tal∧	to shake
	369-12	täk∧	to touch
	356-5	täng∧	full
	355-1	[tālu A	shoulder
	335-14	[tār- D	to swallow
			10 0001100

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	365-1	te/h/∧	to speak
	339-9	tel(ḥ)∧	long
	360-5	te/ĺ/∧	to split
	360-6	ter(H)∧	to tear
	370-10	tik∧	terror
[69	342-15	·[tiqa K {diq∧}	soil
	338-11	to	two
	338-8	to/H/∧	to give
	350-6	toj∧	to incline, tilt (v.t.)
	354-15	[toky- A	to weave
[62	334-9	t/o/lg/	to be in agitation
	335-10	$[/t'/omp(\Lambda)]$ A	bulging
	347-10	[t'ök(∧)− A	to pour
	357-13	tur∧	to pierce (repeatedly)
	356-6	/t/ur/	full
	357-5	[tüĺ- R	to come
	347-9	t∧/ḥ/∧	to pour
	352-2	t∧1∧ (?)	to cheat
	367-8	t∧p∧	to cut off (plants)
	343-11	t'∕aj/l∧	stone
	351-3	t'al(H)∧	to carry
	355-4	t'al/H/∧	flat
	370-4	t'ang∧	to pull
	370-3	t'an∧	н
	343-1	t'an∧	to know
	352-4	t'an∧	to chop off
349		t'apḥ <a>	to beat
	353-10	t'ap'∧	to feel
	356-10	t'ap'∧	to strike (a target)
[349	330-6	t'ap'∧	to beat
	368-14	t'ar∧	to rub
	347-12	t'ar∧	bald
	335-4	t'äj∧	louse
	359-6	t'äl∧	to grow

344-5 t'äp∧	to put
338-2 t'/ä/p∧	to (be) warm
333-14 t'är∧	to contain / accomodate
353-11 t'/e/m∧	to feel
370-11 t'ij∧	narrow
333-7 t'ií∧	to swell
364-15 t'in∧	strong
337-12 t'/o/g∧	to burn
336-2 t'ub∧	deep
372-11 t'u/1y/∧	jackal
368-11 t'um∧	dark
344-11 t'ung∧	base of tree, stump
338-10 t'unk'∧	to press
354-12 t'up∧	to spit
332-13 t'ur∧	rapid
333-3 t'ur∧	to turn
361-12 t'ur∧	to give birth to
343-7 t'ur∧	roe
367-6 t²u/w/∧	calm
341-4 t'ü1∧	to burn fuel
355-8 t²∧b∧	suitable
369-5 t'∧1k'∧	to shove (v.t.)
370-9 t'∧rp∧	satisfaction
	•
341-5 wa/ć/∧	abdomen
330-9 wa/ḥ/∧	to beat
353-15 waj∧	to fall
361-11 wald∧	to give birth to
363-3 w/a/ĺ(k')∧	bright / light
336-9 wank∧	to bend
367-13 war∧	side
341-2 war∧	to burn (up)
336-13 wat∧	to talk
364-14 wäk∧	strong

	337-9	wär∧	mountain		
	339-3	wär∧	to do		
	370-13	luä/s/A- U	to get tired (of)		
	362-1	wed/	to chop (with weapons)		
	351-2	weg∧	to carry		
	367-7	wel/	to slay / fight (v.t.)		
	333-4	wet∧	to lead		
	334-2	wet∧	water		
	337-4	w/e/t'∧	year		
	362-12		male		
	333-11	wiłA	moist		
	340-11	wi\/g/\	to desire		
	335-5	wird^	to rear (v.t.)rear (v.t.)		
	359-7	w1/š/\	to grow		
	332-14		to be		
	364-13	6	strength		
	358-2	woj/k³/∧ (?)	straight		
	355-5	woj∧	to swim / sail		
350		wol <a>	big		
	353-3	wo/1H/A	point		
[350	331-11	wolA	big		
	335-1	w/o/md/	hairs (facial)		
	353-5	won/k/A	opening		
	337-8	wo/rH/A	mountain		
351		wot'a	to get, to overtake		
[351	332-3	wot'∧	to take		
	332-9	[wyćk∧- U	to throw		
	368-8	zalA	secret (adj.)		
	365-13	za/l/A	mucus		
352	332-4	zap'a	to take into one's hands, to hold		
	340-6	zeg∧	to eat		
	346-4	z/e/w∧	left		
	356-4	zilA	to creep		
			· ·		

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
	222 0	- ! - A	to see
5047	333-9	zirA	to favor
[347		zolHA {SAlA}	
	370-12		harvest
353		ź/a/ñ∧	fetus/fruit, pregnancy, descendants
	373-3	źip'Λ	to pinch
		źΛγΛ (?)	to seize
		źΛḥΛ (?)	to call
	364-16		strong
	359-5	•	to spread
	359-5 350-9	- 3	insect
	359-3		to spread
	229-2	3/11//	to spi cuu
	INIT	IAL VOWELS (NOT IN <i>NOS</i>	TRATIC DICTIONARY)
		- /	
[137		ta	over / across
[104		[alka- U (HalA)	
[126			to practice witchcraft
	359-1	[a/rd/- K	_
[127	352-7	[asa- A {?aSa}	fire
[131	341-13	el∧ {?elA}	to live
Γ133		[em- IE {?Em\}	to seize
Γ 106	352-9	[enk∧ U	fire
[116	355-6	[er- IE (Horä)	to raise (rise)
[107	359-2	er∧ {Herä}	to fall to pieces
[108	362-14	er∧ (Herä)	male
Γ132		eś∧ {?esA}	to be
[102	000 1		
[136	340-7	[idä- A {?itä}	to eat
[112	368-9	/i/r∧ {Hirá}	to drag
	359-8	[ˈtä- U	to grow

[102 367-11 [ō- A {Ha} to come

N.Dict.	I-S('67)	Word	Meaning
[120?	367-3	[o8a- U	to sleep
[117	373-10	[okśa U {Hos/}	ash-tree
[113	353-4	[oky A	point
[124	370-14	[oma U {?amu}	morning
[114	350-3	$om/c^{2}/\Lambda \{Homsa\}$	meat
[105	371-12	ong∧ {Hanga}	jaw
[138	354-1	[ube- K {\$/e/bU}	bosom
	362-6	[u/ń/a A	tame
	337-13	ur∧	to burn
[119	334-6	[uwa U (Huwa)	water

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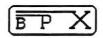
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